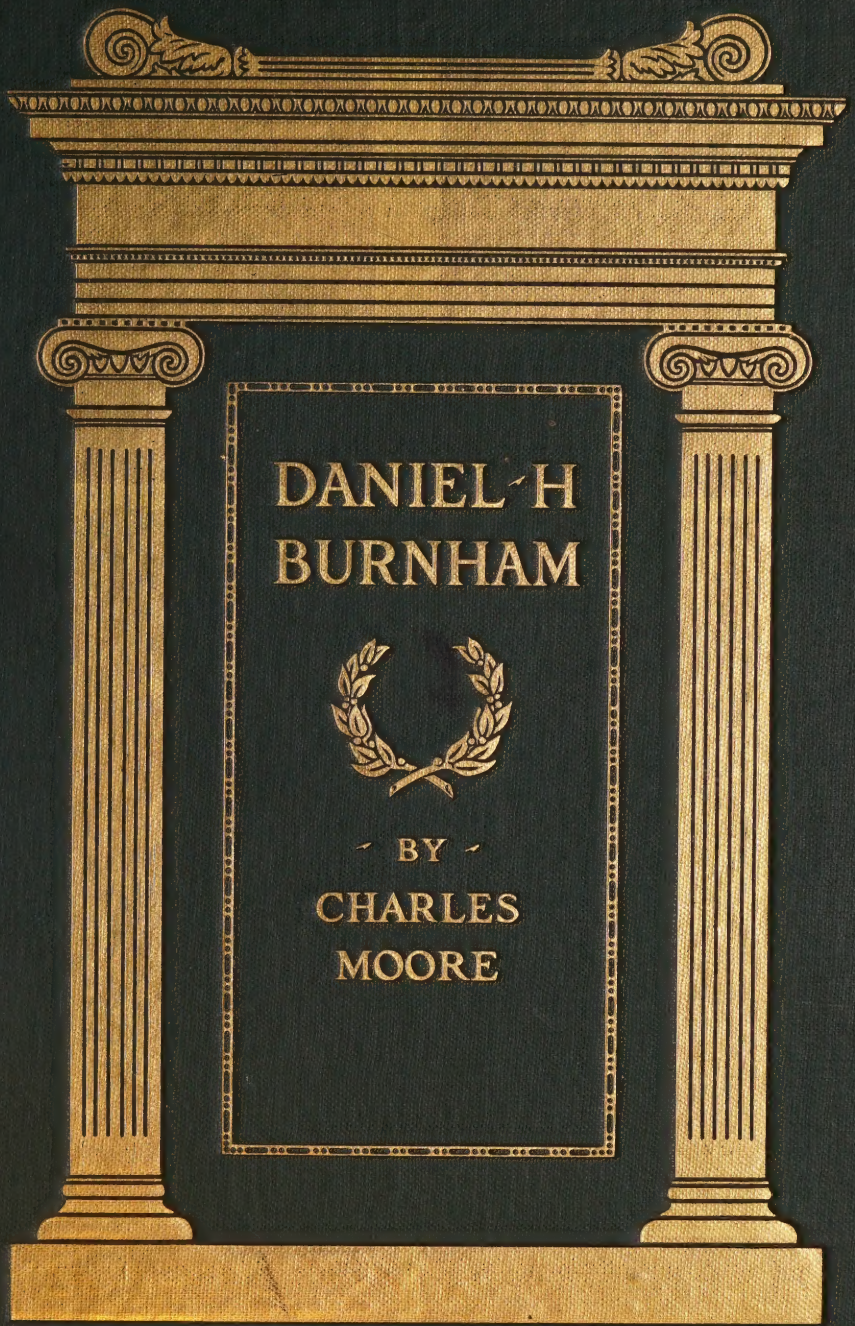
DANIEL H
BURNHAM
BY
CHARLES
MOORE

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DANIEL H. BURNHAM

ARCHITECT
PLANNER OF CITIES

DANIEL HUDSON BURNHAM
From a painting by Zorn, 1899

DANIEL H. BURNHAM
ARCHITECT
PLANNER OF CITIES

BY

CHARLES MOORE

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME ONE

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
MCMXXI

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DEDICATED TO

MARGARET SHERMAN BURNHAM

IN THE HOME NO LESS THAN IN THE MARKET-PLACE THE
SPIRIT OF CHICAGO IS WORKING IN AND THROUGH
THE CITIZENS TO CREATE THE PERFECT CITY
WHEREIN ALL THE PEOPLE MAY LABOR
UNDER BEST CONDITIONS AND ENJOY
THE TRUE SATISFACTIONS OF LIFE

PREFACE

THE Centennial Celebration at Philadelphia in 1876, after the Civil War, developed a new consciousness of nationality and inherent power; and during the next fifteen years the arts, especially architecture and sculpture, reached excellencies never before attained in this country.

The celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, caused our architects and landscape architects, our sculptors and our painters to work together for the first time. The spiritual result of that coöperation has been a feeling for public service awakened then among the artists themselves. The eminent material result was a group of buildings, not only of individual dignity and beauty, but also expressing that higher beauty which results from harmony in style, arrangement, and landscape setting.

The Chicago Fair marked a long advance in American appreciation and encouragement of the fine arts. And artists considered the future to a growing extent in terms of coöperation and of public service. Thus they recognized for the first time the necessity of some establishment for the sound training of their successors, who would be called upon to deal with the problems and fulfil the opportunities of increasing wealth and national power. The impulse to plan American cities for unity, amenity, and beauty was born of the Exposition. So, too, was the idea of establishing at Rome a school for training art students in the traditions and achievements of the past. The ac-

quaintances developed at Chicago stimulated the several arts; for the great majority of our artists had some part in the work there, and came away with the satisfaction of success.

The one man who from the beginning realized the great possibilities the Fair offered for the encouragement of fine arts in America was Daniel H. Burnham. He selected the artists, induced them to undertake the work as a public service, secured to each a full opportunity for expression, maintained harmony among them, and fought their battles with committees and contractors.

Such was his success and his training that he was thereafter continuously in public service. First he was called to lead in the replanning and development of the National Capital. Then Cleveland and San Francisco appealed to him. Next the Government again sought his aid for Manila and the summer capital of Baguio. All the years from the time of the Fair he had been pondering in his mind the needs and possibilities of Chicago. At last the chance for action came. His abilities, his prestige, his vision were given to his home. He saw in his dreams the finest commercial city of the world standing on the shores of Lake Michigan — the finest city in which to work and to live.

To this end he planned more largely, more comprehensively, and more finely than any one had ever planned before. He saw his plans recorded in such manner that they will remain an incentive and a guide to his own and to succeeding generations. As a reward he lived to see the Plan of Chicago undertaken by the people of that city in a spirit and on a scale to insure ultimate accomplishment.

These results were achieved only by struggles, long, arduous;

and often delayed by temporary defeat. Not all of his undertakings have been carried out, as yet. In some instances things have been done contrary to his advice. Yet as lessons his failures are hardly less valuable than his successes.

No one man alone accomplishes such great undertakings; nor is he at all times the leader in the realization of his own ideas. The successful man owes much to the spirit of his age, and very much to the men with whom he is associated. The story of Mr. Burnham's life is in part the story of many other lives that touched his; of influences more powerful than the individual can command. In telling the story every attempt has been made to estimate at their true value the work and influence of those who coöperated with him. It was a glorious company that fought under his leadership — McKim, Saint-Gaudens, the Olmsteds, Frank Millet, Theodore Thomas, are but typical names. Scarcely an architect of prominence during a quarter of a century, scarcely a cause dear to the profession, but finds a place on these pages. Where plain words were spoken they concern not individuals but causes; for in Mr. Burnham's catholic nature were no personal animosities — only friendships.

He was first of all a man, with all a man's virtues, and also with some failings — that are not cloaked. Attempt has been made to disclose enough of his personal, private life to place him in true relation to his public, professional work; for there was in his mind no marked separation between the two. He was essentially the same man in home and office; and he labored to bring up his children as dependable, serviceable members of the community. Here he met with complete success.

It is impossible to acknowledge all the help given in the

preparation of this book. Many acknowledgments are recorded on the pages themselves. Much of Mr. Burnham's public career came under the observation of the author, who believes that he knew the workings of the Burnham mind well enough to insure that Mr. Burnham himself would not disapprove seriously of anything written herein.

CHARLES MOORE

Washington, February, 1921

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DANIEL H. BURNHAM

ARCHITECT
PLANNER OF CITIES

DANIEL H. BURNHAM

CHAPTER I

TWO CENTURIES OF BURNHAMS

1635–1846

DANIEL HUDSON BURNHAM had a high regard for his ancestors. He took satisfaction in the fact that he came of good, substantial stock which reached back to the very beginnings of this country. He never tried to bridge that genealogical hiatus, the Atlantic Ocean, but rested content with the knowledge that his forbears were of the Puritans of Massachusetts. To him ancestry was not a source of complacency, but an inspiration to service. That Burnhams in their day and generation had rendered steadfast and loyal service to the community seemed to call him into whole-hearted service for his city and his country. Such service he gave freely and gladly, putting aside any thought of compensation. By devoting his time and his talents to public service, he felt that not only was he living up to his own obligations, but also was imposing the obligation of his example on those who should follow him.

Tradition has it that in the year 1635 the good ship Angel Gabriel, belying her name, went to pieces on the coast of Maine; that her master, Captain Andrews, and his three nephews, John, Thomas, and Robert Burnham, escaped with their lives, indeed, but suffered the loss of the chests which held all their worldly goods; that they made their way to the frontier

settlement of Ipswich in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and there established a name which persists to this day.

It was in the year 1628 that John Endecott with the first company of Puritans landed at Salem, with a grant from Charles I to the Massachusetts Bay Company. Four years later Governor Endecott sent his son John to establish a buffer settlement at the old Indian town of Agawam, as a defence against the threatened incursions of the French from the north. The location being favorable, the town quickly began to attract settlers, who changed the name to Ipswich, after the English port whence so many Puritans set sail for the new world. A grist-mill was built by Sir Richard Saltonstall's son; and a church was erected on Meeting-House Hill, where the First Church now stands. Roads were cut through the forests to form a land connection with Salem. Fisheries were established to provide the settlers with the abundant cod as well as with lobsters that often weighed as much as twenty-five pounds. In time the log house gave way to more pretentious structures built of boards sawed by hand and fastened with iron nails wrought by the town blacksmith, the roofs being thatched with grass from the salt-marshes. Indeed, the first fire to which the Burnham boys probably ran was caused by a servant-woman knocking the ashes from her pipe on the dry thatch.

As the boys became of age, they were duly enrolled among the citizens: John in 1639, Thomas in 1643, and Robert in 1647. Their uncle, Captain Andrews, continued to reside in Ipswich, where he raised up a large family.[1]

[1] *The Burnham Family.* By Roderick H. Burnham. Hartford, 1869. *Genealogical Records of Thomas Burnham the Emigrant.* By Roderick H. Burnham. Hartford, 1884.

THE OLD BURNHAM HOUSE AT IPSWICH, MASSACHUSETTS

Ipswich was a typical Puritan community. Gentlemen, who were entitled to the prefix "Mr.," went about the streets in silver-laced coats and hats embroidered with gold; later, ladies of the better sort had their gowns made by a man-tailor in Boston; and so eager was the pursuit of Dame Fashion that the authorities often were called upon to limit by law the gorgeousness of attire to the pecuniary means of the wearer.

In literature Ipswich was conspicuous. John Winthrop, the leader, was a barrister of the Inner Temple; he had served in a naval war and, what was rare in those days, he had travelled extensively on the Continent of Europe. Nathaniel Ward, the minister, a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, counted among his friends Sir Francis Bacon, Bishop Usher of Biblical chronology fame, and also the Heidelberg theologian, David Pareus, who had lured his pupil from law to theology. Ward it was who wrote the code of law for the colony, embodying therein principles of liberty which proved him no unworthy disciple of John Milton. By way of diversion he wrote a satire called "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam," which ran through four English editions in a single year. Then, too, the most popular poet and greatest literary light in all America was living in Ipswich during the boyhood of the Burnhams. Anne Bradstreet, daughter of Governor Dudley and wife of Governor-to-be Simon Bradstreet, was known in America and in England as "The Tenth Muse"; and in both lands her poems were then prized by readers as highly as they now are by collectors.

Being farmers with extensive tracts of land and mill-owners, the Burnhams had their full share in all town activities. John attained the high dignity of deacon in the church; Thomas was a lieutenant of militia, as was his son after him. John went out

to the Pequot War and King Philip's War. Burnhams testified for the King in witch-trials; some became selectmen, while others were detailed to keep order in church; and still others, seated in the General Court, did legislative work in Boston. In the female line the records show that a certain Miss Abigail Burnham was so disorderly in meeting that her father was called into court and commanded to admonish her.[1]

From Ipswich Burnhams scattered throughout New England, and in Connecticut the family became both numerous and influential. John, the son of the first Thomas, and John's son Jacob lived and died in Ipswich. A century and a quarter after the first coming, Jacob's son John, accompanied by his own son John, Jr., migrated first to Connecticut, and, after a short stay, wended his way northward to the present State of Vermont, which was to be the home of the family for another century.

At the time of their migration in 1761, John Burnham, the father, was forty-seven years old, and his son was nineteen. Bennington was in its beginnings and the Burnhams were among the first settlers of both the town and the future state. Owing to the narrowness of the family fortunes, the boy's education had been limited to a few weeks of schooling, so that what he made of himself was due to opportunity and his own exertions. In 1765 he removed to Shaftsbury, where he located himself near 'Squire Munroe, a "Yorker," who was acting as a justice of the peace under a New York appointment, and whose efforts to extend the jurisdiction of that colony over the unorganized territory made him obnoxious to those settlers who held their lands under New Hampshire grants.

[1] *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.* By Thomas Franklin Waters. 1905.

A dispute having arisen between the justice and young Burnham, the former prevailed in consequence of his presumed legal knowledge. Thereupon John Burnham determined to acquire an acquaintance with the law at least sufficient to enable him to maintain his rights. There were no lawyers in the territory and no law books nearer than Lansingburg, New York. To that town he walked, and there he procured a copy of Blackstone's "Commentaries" and two volumes of New York colonial laws. These books he studied assiduously during his spare time, and as occasion arose he put his knowledge into practice with such success that he soon became "quite a pettifogger for his times and in a new country."

The year 1771 found him "keeping a store" in Bennington. In 1776 and 1777 Captain John Burnham, Jr., represented Bennington in the delegate convention which was struggling to form a new and separate state, while his father sat for Shaftsbury.

Captain John Burnham was one of the committee of five, which, on January 16, 1777, reported to the honorable convention of representatives from the several towns on the west and east sides of the range of the Green Mountains, within the New Hampshire Grants, a declaration of independence, wherein is set forth the right of the inhabitants to form themselves into a separate state. This right they based, first, on the principle that "whenever protection is withheld, no allegiance is due, or can of right be demanded"; and, secondly, on the basis that "whenever a part of the community have been manifestly aimed at by either the legislative or executive authority of such community, necessity requires a separation." This declaration was directed at "the monopolizing land-traders of the Colony of New York" countenanced and encouraged by both

the legislative and executive authorities of that colony by "overt acts so fresh in the minds of the members that it is needless to name them." In further justification was pleaded the resolution of the Continental Congress of May 15, 1776, recommending the assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, "where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs hath been established, to adopt such government as shall conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general."

The territory included was that usually known as the New Hampshire Grants; and the name of "the separate, free and independent jurisdiction or State" was to be New Connecticut, a designation which continued until the following June, when the name Vermont was chosen. The names of John Burnham, of Shaftsbury, and John Burnham, Jr., of Bennington, are among the fifty names signed to this declaration.

The first General Assembly which framed the constitution of the State, met on March 12, 1778, at Windsor, with the younger John Burnham among its members. The Assembly held an adjourned session at Bennington on June 14, and on the first day of the session, John Burnham, Jr., became the hero of an exploit that has kept his name green in the local histories of Vermont.

People from the country for miles around had gathered at Bennington to witness a double event — the convening of the Assembly and a hanging. State's Attorney Ethan Allen had won a great victory by convicting one David Redding of "conduct inimical against the United States of America," and the prisoner was to be executed that day. Suddenly John Burnham stalked into the council chamber and maintained before the Governor and Council that by the common law of England

HENDERSON HARBOR, ON LAKE ONTARIO

BIRTHPLACE OF DANIEL H. BURNHAM, HENDERSON, NEW YORK

"no man could be sentenced but upon conviction by twelve of his peers," whereas Redding had been convicted by a jury of only six men. Thereupon a reprieve was granted. "This," says the chronicler, "was the cause of great disappointment to the people who had assembled to witness the execution, to appease whom Ethan Allen mounted a stump and exclaimed: 'Attention, the whole; on a certain future day some one shall be hanged, and if Redding is not the man, I myself will be'! A week later Redding was tried by a regularly constituted jury, was convicted and was hanged. Thus was the law maintained treason punished and the people satisfied." [1]

Both father and son were enrolled in the Revolutionary War, but neither saw active service. Captain John, the younger, was adjutant of the Second Regiment; but his main duties were performed as a commissioner of sequestration and sale of Tory property, his accounts showing the handling of over £34,000 of such property.

In 1785, when forty-three years old, the younger John established himself at Middletown, where he built several houses. Six years later his active business mind found employment in building an industrial centre in a section of the town which became known as "Burnham's Hollow," an appellation the region retains, although all Burnhams have disappeared. There he built first a forge, then a foundry, followed by grist-mills, a saw-mill, an oil-mill, a carding machine, and, of course, a distillery. For twenty years he conducted these enterprises with success. Then came the freshet of 1811, which swept away in

[1] *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, vol. I, p. 165. Article on "Attorneys at Law," by ex-Gov. Hiland Hall. 1862. Also Williams's *Statistics of the Rutland County Bar*.

a night the labor of long years. He was then sixty-nine years old; he had spent a strenuous life in acquiring an education, supporting a family, serving the State and building up the industries of the community. He rebuilt his forge, but he never afterwards did a large business. The chronicle records him as "a man of uncommon ability." It balances his character according to the standards of earlier times by saying that "for the success of the religious interests in town perhaps not much is due to him, although he paid something for such purposes and was in the habit of attending meetings on the Sabbath, but did not believe in the immortality of the soul; yet it must be conceded for the success of business enterprises at that early day the town is much indebted to him." [1] In this man of large enterprises we find the prototype of his great-grandson, Daniel H. Burnham.

The freshet of 1811 marks the culmination of the Burnham family fortunes in Vermont. In that year John Burnham, Sr., died at his son's house in Middletown, at the ripe age of ninety-seven. In the same year, Nathan Burnham, eldest son of John, Jr., removed to Henderson, New York, taking with him his wife, Rebecca Noble, his son Edwin, and his daughter Emily.[2] The second son, Jacob, remained in the ancestral home, which came into his possession when John, Jr., died on August 1, 1829, at the age of eighty-seven.[3]

[1] *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, vol. II, p. 809. Article on "Middletown." See also *History of Middletown, Vt., in Three Discourses*," by Hon. Barnes Frisbie (Rutland, 1867), p. 39. William H. Blanchard, of Montpelier, made for the author searches among the Revolutionary records, the journals of the Vermont Assembly, and many manuscript records.

[2] Emily became Mrs. Nathaniel Eastman and lived in Seville, Ohio, where she died, April 2, 1891, aged ninety-one years.

[3] The fourth son, Sylvester, died in 1860. There were three daughters: Lucy, who married Jeremiah Leffingwell; Julia, who married Samuel Willard; and Betsy, who became Mrs. Harry Gillet.

The last record of the Vermont Burnhams is in 1830, when Jacob's son, John 3d, became excited over the rumor that a great fortune awaited the family in the Bank of England. He corresponded with some of the Ipswich Burnhams in his endeavors to obtain a clue to the family history, with the purpose of getting his share of the great inheritance, estimated at a hundred and sixty million dollars. Whether there ever was a Benjamin Burnham, who died in London, in 1694, possessed of a hundred and fifty acres on Burnham Road (now Regent Street), London, is still a family mystery.

Why Nathan Burnham selected the town of Henderson as the place of his abode can only be surmised. Perhaps his familiarity with mill business drew him thither, for at the time of his coming Lodowick Salisbury had bought the saw- and grist-mills which that stanch Presbyterian, Deacon Fellows, had built on Big Stony Creek, a stream that empties into Lake Ontario about two miles from the town. Perhaps, also, it was the failure of the mills under three owners that induced Nathan Burnham to become a country merchant.

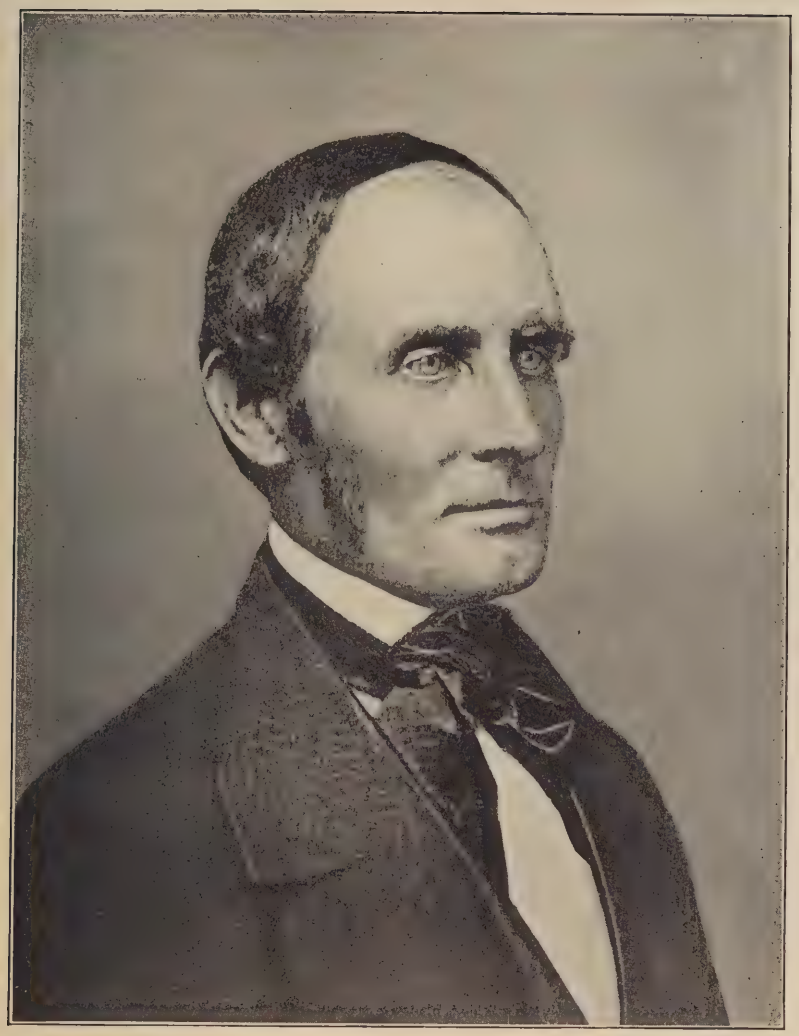
About 1820 the Reverend Holland Weeks came from Abington, Massachusetts, to Henderson, to settle on a few acres he owned in that town. He did some farming and was the village postmaster. He was then fifty-two years old, having been born in Brooklyn, Connecticut, in 1768. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1795, was ordained as a Congregational minister, and from 1799 to 1807 was settled at Waterbury, Connecticut. After a few years spent as a missionary in northern Vermont and New York, he served from 1807 to 1814 as the pastor at Pittsford, Vermont, and for six years at Abington, Massachusetts, where his preaching drew larger congregations

than the church could accommodate. Possibly his heterodoxy was stimulating to the people of the Massachusetts town. He was not sound on the doctrines of the Trinity and eternal damnation, and he developed a strong leaning toward the theories of Swedenborg, which had lately been brought to this country. On Christmas day, 1825, he organized in Henderson a Society of the New Jerusalem with thirteen members; and he continued to preach gratuitously to his little flock of thirty or forty souls until his death on July 24, 1843.

His first wife, the mother of his children, was Harriet B. Hopkins, of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, a granddaughter of the Reverend Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, Rhode Island, a direct descendant of John Alden and Priscilla Mullins.[1] His second wife, Mrs. Delia (Clapp) Graves, the widow of the Reverend William Graves, of Woodstock, Vermont, elected not to follow her spouse to Henderson; and his three elder daughters soon married, leaving to his youngest child, Elizabeth Keith, the physical care of the household and of her brother, while her father looked after their morals in a rigid manner. She was both cook and housekeeper and something of a farmer as well.

On May 31, 1832, at the age of twenty-two she married Edwin Burnham, one of her father's flock. After seven years of married life in Henderson, they spent a year in Detroit, where he was employed by Oliver Newberry, one of the largest of the Great Lakes vessel-owners. Then they returned to Henderson because she felt that her father needed her care. For a year they lived in Smithville, five miles from Henderson, but re-

[1] Holland Weeks also was a descendant of John Alden, through his daughter Ruth.



EDWIN BURNHAM

turned to the home town and the old store. In Henderson seven children were born between 1833 and 1851. Their sixth [1] child, Daniel Hudson, was born on September 4, 1846, in the northwest chamber of the substantial stone house still standing and well occupied by Mr. H. M. Scott, who is easily persuaded to show the birth-room and also the name of Edwin Burnham cut in the cellar door.

When Holland Weeks died there was no reason for remaining in Henderson. Edwin Burnham wanted to remove to Rome, New York; but his wife, ambitious for her children, said Chicago — with emphasis. In that promising little city Edwin's brother, Dyer, was established in the practice of law; and Chicago promised good education and good society. So to Illinois Edwin wended his way alone to spy out the land. His first venture, a stone quarry near Joliet, came to grief because of the dishonesty of the partner, Skelly by name; and quite in despair he contemplated another retreat to Henderson. To forestall this purpose, the determined Mrs. Burnham broke up the home and shipped the furniture to Chicago. Finally he entered the wholesale drug business in partnership first with William Sears and afterwards with Peter Van Schaack. The warehouse was burned in the great fire of 1871. His eldest son Edwin was taken into the business, but was not cut out for mercantile life; and after the father's death, September 30, 1874, the firm became Morrison and Van Schaack, and is now the great drug-house of Fuller Morrison Company.

Mrs. Burnham was of medium height; she enjoyed fairly good

[1] There were in all seven children: Edwin Ruthven, Romeo Duane, Ellen Weeks, Mary Elizabeth (married the Reverend John Goddard, a Swedenborgian minister), Lewis Tafel (married a niece of Joseph E. Worcester of dictionary fame), Daniel Hudson, and Clara Lilian (Mrs. W. H. Woodyatt).

health; while not handsome she had a nimble wit and such a love of fun as to carry her through many trying circumstances and to make her a comfort, help, and reliance to her friends. Like her husband, she was deeply religious; but she kept a mind ever open to new ideas, provided they were not inimical to morals. She lived until the World's Fair was virtually completed, and to her resorted many of her son Daniel's most intimate friends, who enjoyed her quick humor and ready repartee. Among these visitors the most constant was Frank Millet, to whom she recalled his own beloved mother. She survived her husband for nineteen years and died in Evanston, on January 15, 1893, at the ripe age of eighty-three years. From her the son inherited courage, progressiveness, clear judgment, ready sympathy, sincerity, and moral responsibility.[1]

[1] *Genealogy of the Family of George Weeks of Dorchester, Massachusetts;* 1635–1650. By Robert D. Weeks. 1885. Also notes furnished by her daughter, Mrs. W. H. Woodyatt, of Evanston, Illinois.

ELIZABETH KEITH BURNHAM

CHAPTER II

FINDING HIS FEET

1855–1875

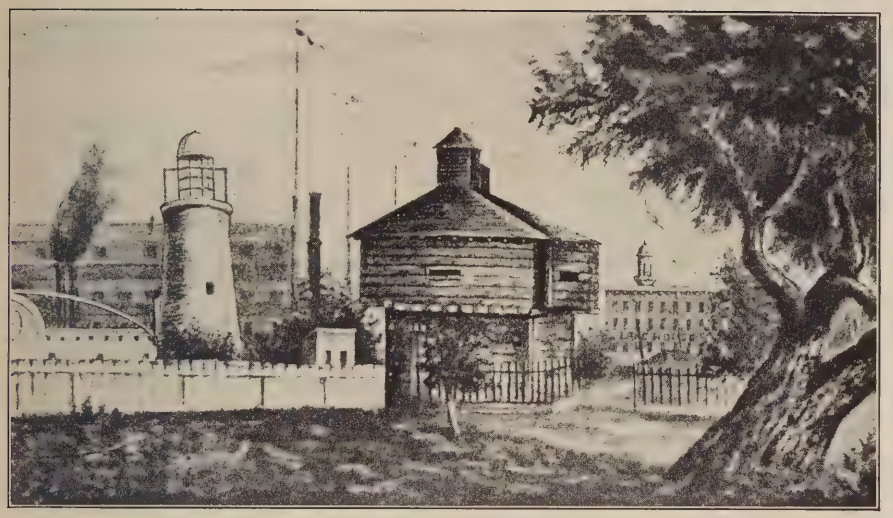
THE third migration of the Burnham family took place in 1855, when Edwin Burnham with his family removed from Henderson to Chicago, then a city eighteen years old, which for three years had enjoyed railway connections with the East.

Daniel, eight years old, was sent to Snow's Swedenborgian Academy, on Adams Street, between Dearborn and State Streets. Afterwards he went to the Dearborn and the Jones public schools. School books had few attractions for him, but his drawing teacher, a Miss Starr, noting his fondness for drawing, encouraged him to make black crayon portraits from life; and also he developed a propensity to write stories for children's magazines. At the age of fifteen military ardor seized him. The country was in the throes of the Civil War and he conceived it to be his duty to take part in the strife. Accordingly he enlisted in the Nineteenth Illinois Infantry, from which predicament his father firmly extricated him, much to his disgust. The class of 1865 at the Central High School, which numbered Daniel H. Burnham among its temporary members, contained an unusual number of boys who became influential citizens of Chicago. The standard of scholarship in the school was high, especially in Greek, Latin, and mathematics. The chief glory of the students, however, was the Irving Literary Society, devoted to oratory and school politics. In that arena Luther

Laflin Mills first won fame, at times by the recitation of the orations of Daniel Webster and Patrick Henry, or more often with perfervid periods of his own composition. Ferdinand Peck, best of Latin scholars, was perfect in deportment. Then there were the two friends, Henry B. Mason and James B. Galloway, to the latter of whom was applied Homer's description of Achilles—"the face of the hero was ivory set in gold." Melville E. Stone, now manager of the Associated Press, and his brother Ormond, the astronomer, were of the class, but did not graduate. George Bell Swift, afterwards Mayor of Chicago, was not numbered with the scholars like Mills and Peck; but he stood far above Dan Burnham, a tall, athletic fellow, much too large for his age, and called the handsomest boy in school. In games young Burnham was a leader, but his neglect of books was so flagrant that he retained a place in school only by manners exceptionally good in a class where 100 per cent in deportment appears to have been the rule, and by his facility in executing on the blackboard creations in colored crayons that brought distinction to his class on public occasions. Edward Waller, his lifelong friend, and Edgar Stanton were his lieutenants, and for a week before an exhibition, the three won immunity from recitations while the other pupils enviously watched the pictures grow under their leisurely ministrations.[1]

When Dan was seventeen years old his father took him and his sisters Ellen and Clara to Waltham, Massachusetts. Ellen kept the house and her brother and sister were placed in the New Church School kept by the Worcesters. There Dan formed a friendship with the Reverend Joseph Worcester which lasted throughout his life. Two years later he was sent

[1] *Chicago Tribune*, December 29, 1895.



CHICAGO LANDMARKS OF THE 1850'S

CHICAGO IN THE 1870'S

to Bridgewater, Massachusetts, where he became the sole pupil of the Reverend Tilly Brown Hayward,[1] a New Church minister and a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1820, whose task it was to fit this young man for Harvard; but he failed to pass the examinations for entrance. Nor was he more successful at Yale. He was destined to win degrees from both institutions, but only after much hard work and long-delayed study. The idle years were never quite made up; and all his life he felt the lack of that mental training which comes from early acquaintance with the lessons taught by the past. It was during his stay in Bridgewater that young Burnham's attention was drawn to architecture, and his facility in drawing was turned in that direction.

When, in 1868, his school days over, Dan Burnham, at the age of twenty-two, returned to Chicago, he was placed in a mercantile house. Evidently he felt no call to the ministry. It is not difficult to imagine the irksomeness of business routine on an active-minded youth trained in the most imaginative of religious schools and conscious of his own potential abilities. After four months of restlessness, his father, who recognized the natural bent of his son's mind, took him to the architects Loring & Jenney and committed him to their care. During the year he remained with this firm he got the opportunity to build some small houses on his own account.

[1] Mr. Hayward was never settled over any church, but preached temporarily in several places. He kept a private school in Boston until 1850, and was especially successful in teaching mathematics. He was the youngest of the twelve original members of the First Boston New Church Society, having been in college with Thomas Worcester, Sampson Reed, and others of that persuasion. He translated several of Swedenborg's works into Latin; was editor of the *New Church Magazine*, and for thirty years was secretary of the New Church General Convention. His obituary appears in the *Boston Transcript*, September 20, 1878.

It happened, however, that he fell in with a Colonel Cummings, who was ambitious to seek gold in Nevada. Cummings organized a party eager to make their fortunes in the West; and this expedition Dan Burnham, together with his boyhood friend Edward C. Waller, joined. The mining venture in Nevada failed; and Burnham also was defeated for the office of State Senator. Mr. Waller lost a considerable amount of money before the two, sadder and wiser, returned to Chicago in December, 1870, rumor has it on a cattle train. For a time Burnham and Gustave Laureau were partners in architecture; but Laureau disappeared at the time of the Fire. Afterwards Burnham sold plate-glass for a man named Dodge, who also left without warning and in debt to Carlyle Mason, for whom Burnham afterwards planned a warehouse to square an account for which he was not liable.

In the spring of 1872, as Mr. Burnham relates, the year after the great fire, there was in Chicago a firm of architects called Carter, Drake & Wight, who did a large business. The principal designer was Peter B. Wight, who had come to Chicago with a high reputation obtained by his design of the Italian Gothic Fine Arts Building at the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-Fourth Street, New York City. "Many of the younger men admired Mr. Wight, I among them. I desired to be under him, and this led to my becoming a draughtsman in his office." At last he had found his architectural feet. To Mr. Wight he felt that he owed more than to any other one man: from him he obtained an appreciation of scholarship in architecture.

"The first time I saw Daniel Burnham," Mr. Wight has written, "was in my own office in Chicago, during the winter of 1872–73. He was then twenty-six years of age. He was

introduced to our firm by his father, the late Edwin Burnham, one of the early settlers of Chicago, who had retired from the wholesale drug trade at the time of the Fire and was very desirous that Dan should be cured of his roving disposition and continue the study of architecture. He was put under my personal direction as a student. I introduced him to John W. Root, who had followed me from New York to Chicago during the previous year and was then the head draughtsman in my office. We were very busy trying to rebuild the burned city."

"It was in Mr. Wight's office," records Mr. Burnham, "that I first became acquainted with John Wellborn Root, with whom I at once formed an acquaintance which lasted until the end of his life." The two men, so unlike in all their characteristics, became firmly attached to one another. Each supplied some things that the other lacked; and yet they had so much in common that their natures readily coalesced. For one thing both were affectionate in temperament; for another both were ambitious, determined to succeed and ready to pay the price of success.

Mr. Root was nearly four years younger than Mr. Burnham and was better trained in his profession. On the other hand, he had no taste for business; whereas so soon as restlessness began to die down, Mr. Burnham's inheritance from his ancestors began strongly to assert itself, without, however, obtaining domination over that other side of his nature. He was never so much of a business man that he was not also an artist. He felt as an artist, thought as an artist, and when he came up against his limitations in knowledge or as a creator, he never failed to recognize those qualities in others.

It is impossible to understand Mr. Burnham's character

without giving full consideration to this early, deep, and abiding friendship between the two partners. John Root was born in Lumpkin, Georgia, January 10, 1850, the first child of Sidney Root and his wife, Mary Clark. The Roots were of French Huguenot extraction. On leaving France they settled in Badby Parish, England, whence their descendants emigrated to northern Vermont in colonial days. Sidney Root, John's father, was born in the Connecticut Valley. As a youth he wanted to study architecture, but his worldly-wise father insisted on apprenticing him to a jeweller. At the age of twenty his roving disposition took him to Georgia; he opened a dry-goods store in Lumpkin and soon married the daughter of James Clark and Permelia Wellborn. Judge Clark was a recluse who burned at night the manuscripts he wrote during the day, leaving to his capable wife the management of the plantation. They named their first child after his maternal uncle, John Wellborn, a member of the Thirty-First Congress, who in middle life gave his fortune to the church and until his death in 1874 spent his time in preaching to the poor.

As a boy John Root was the despair of his parents; he was lazy, with a propensity for practical jokes. These defects were more than balanced, however, by evidences of precocity; at the age of two he could play on the violin without making discords, and at seven he was drawing the family portraits. His father, remembering his own thwarted ambitions, determined that his son should become an architect. During the War of Secession, Sidney Root invested his capital in blockade-runners, which quickly brought him a fortune. During the siege of Atlanta (at that time the family home) he was in Europe on a special mission for President Davis. From the Clark

AT TWELVE

AT NINETEEN

DANIEL H. BURNHAM

plantation, where the family had taken refuge, John, then fourteen years old, was taken by his father's partner, Robert T. Wilson, to Wilmington, whence, on a foggy night, they sailed through the blockade and made a good run to Liverpool.

John was placed in a school at Claremont, where he had special courses in music and architectural drawing. He was precocious, but not studious. A Liverpool organist told him that he would never play well because he had too ready an ear. He was the prize runner and jumper; and he thrashed the English lads, who, without knowledge of American distinctions, called him by the hated name of "Yankee."

After the war he returned to America and entered as a sophomore the class of 1868 in the College of the City of New York, taking the engineering course. The Young Narcissus took prizes as easily as he made friends; his vacations were spent among his father's relatives in Connecticut, where he dreamed away the summer days, looking forward to a course at the École des Beaux Arts. His dreams were brought to a sudden end. The family fortune had disappeared even more suddenly than it came. So he entered, without salary, the office of James Renwick, who was building Gothic cathedrals during the period of the so-called Gothic revival. A year later he found a paying job with Mr. Snook, who was selling to A. T. Stewart and the Vanderbilts what was then known as classical architecture. From that office he followed Mr. Wight to Chicago.

Like all ambitious draughtsmen, Daniel Burnham was determined to have an office of his own. Several small jobs that his firm did not care to undertake came to him through his friends. Finding that he could not do them in the office, he hired a room of about thirteen by sixteen feet at No. 90 Wash-

ington Street, where he worked nights, with John Root to help him. In the spring of 1873 there was enough business in sight to warrant a partnership.

Looking back on those days, Mr. Burnham recalled the early struggles of the firm.

Root came at night and afterwards for half of each day. We found it difficult to keep enough cash on hand to pay the office expenses and his board. Then Root came permanently, giving all day and half the night to our drawing. I took my turn outside and worked half or all day for other architects in order to make our financial ends meet. I lived with my father and paid no board. The panic of 1873 came and most of the little plants we had hoped to see blossom were blasted. We bought no clothing. A client who had promoted a female college during the previous spring, but who had failed to carry out his project, had been foresighted enough to arrange with his tailor for a credit of five hundred dollars. Instead of the money he owed us for plans he gave to each of us a suit of dark blue clothes. Thus we were enabled to resume our social duties without the queer feeling that had been growing upon us.

Office rent was twenty dollars a month. In the office was a fireplace and a large brick vault. We must have burned a ton and a half of soft coal that winter in order to keep our fingers warm enough to work! Paper we bought a few yards at a time, just enough by the most economical handling to lay out the immediate plan and an elevation or two. Then with a couple of pencils, a piece of rubber, a few boards, two stools, and a dozen thumb tacks we did business. Between us we had a full color-box and one stick of India-ink. We did all our work ourselves. I wrote out specifications in long-hand. Architects at that time used no blanks; they did their business in their hats and often wrote certificates in pencil on any piece of paper that came handy. We worked up a set of blanks for ourselves and later had them printed. As soon as we could afford it, we had a good lawyer go over the contract forms, and the phrasing

of our forms came into common use not only in this country, but also in Europe. Even while doing our own work we organized methods of report and recording which grew to be the standards for architects.

We were gay and very happy; work gradually came our way, and when it did we used to dive down to the next floor below, burst in on Dr. Woodyatt, a crony of about our age, and tell him about it. He on his part used to come up three steps at a time whenever a leading citizen became a patient of his.

We could n't do all our drawings very long, so we had to go to the expense of taking on help. Tom Wing was our first draughtsman. Root worked in the centre of the table that faced two windows opening over a vacant lot. Tom worked at one end, with his back to the wall. Then for a time came Will Holabird,[1] a West Point man, straight as a ramrod. We were proud of him. He made the office look dignified, although he was with us only half a day at a time and for but a brief period. Then came Clinton Warren. We took the middle room, put in a stove, and began to buy a whole roll of tracing-cloth at a time. Next we hired the front room on Washington Street, and finally the room across the hall. There we stayed seven years, finally paying over seven hundred dollars a year rent. At first the rent item made me lie awake nights, but before seven years were over fortune had smiled on us. We got a real home to build!

[1] Now senior partner of the firm of Holabird & Roach, architects.

CHAPTER III

SUCCESS

1875–1891

SUCCESS came so suddenly and so unexpectedly to the firm of Burnham & Root that one is apt to ascribe the result to chance. It was due, nevertheless, to the confidence their perseverance and their latent abilities had inspired in one of their friends. George Chambers, a young real-estate broker, was an especial friend of John Root; he was also a protégé of John B. Sherman, who had helped him to get a start in business. Mr. Sherman was a man of wealth and influence; and when in 1874 he confided to his young friend his intention to build a house on Prairie Avenue, Mr. Chambers persuaded him to give the commission for the plans of his mansion to one of the younger men, meaning in his own mind, John Root. Only half persuaded, Mr. Sherman consented to meet the young architect whom Mr. Chambers should send.

It so happened that, Mr. Root being out of town, Mr. Burnham kept the appointment. Perhaps there was method in all this, for already the charm of Mr. Burnham's manner in meeting clients had begun to count; whereas Mr. Root was at his best when working over the draughting-boards. He abhorred getting business. At all events, the meeting was mutually agreeable, and Mr. Burnham left with a commission to prepare sketches for a house and stable to cost $60,000, a large sum for those days.

MRS. DANIEL H. BURNHAM

During the frequent discussions of the plans, Mr. Sherman's daughter Margaret was called in for criticism. The acquaintance thus begun developed rapidly; and in spite of the best intentions on the part of the architect to finish his task before making a proposal of marriage, the young couple were engaged before the house was completed. Mr. Sherman gave free consent, nor was he deterred, but rather strengthened, when Mr. Burnham suggested breaking off the engagement because of family financial difficulties involving matters which the sensitive architect thought questions of honor. In fact that very sensitiveness seemed to the prospective father-in-law a guarantee of safety in entrusting his daughter to her suitor. Nor was he seriously swayed by the reports, not unfounded, of the convivial propensities of the firm. The event proved that he had no cause to regret the confidence thus imposed; and during his own subsequent troubles he found his constant son-in-law a tower of strength, understanding, and consideration. The marriage took place on January 20, 1876. On Burnham's part it proved a stimulant to ambition and a steadying force in life. In return, the wife contributed to the family fortunes the rare gift of thorough sympathy in his work and willingness to make the sacrifices rendered necessary by his enforced absences from home, often sudden and prolonged, and by his absorption in great projects that required sustained negotiation and delicate handling. She it was who maintained a home patriarchal in character, abundant in hospitality, and increasingly a refuge and a delight, as will frequently appear in these pages.

The commission given by Mr. Sherman,[1] and the successful

[1] John B. Sherman was born on a farm in Beekman, Dutchess County, New York, in 1825, and began business life as a clerk in a country store.

way in which it was carried out, led directly to others. Mr. Burnham's narrative records that "after the Sherman house came the Grannis Building on Dearborn Street, a structure seven stories high. Here our originality began to show. We made the front of the building all red, the terra-cotta exactly matching the brick. It was a wonder. Everybody went to see it, and the town was proud of it. When it was finished Burnham & Root moved into it, and there we stayed until it was destroyed by fire. Then we moved to the Montauk Block, designed by Burnham & Root, the first 'sky-scraper,' as this building of ten stories was immediately dubbed. It was the first distinctly tall building in Chicago and its commercial success made it the forerunner of tall, fireproof [1] buildings in the United States."

At the age of twenty-three he married; he was caught up in the California whirlwind and became a '49er. Having made several thousand dollars in gold-mining he returned to his home; but finding the old life too contracted, he bought a farm in Kendall County, Illinois. Then he became a commission merchant in Chicago, eventually leasing one of the numerous stockyards. In 1865 his opportunity came. Impressed with the economies which would result from concentrating the stockyards at one point, he became the leading spirit in forming the combination known as the Union Stockyard & Transit Company, in which the railroads and leading capitalists interested themselves. At the age of forty he retired with ample fortune to enjoy a life of ease in Poughkeepsie, New York; but the yards needed his guiding hand, and reluctantly he returned to the task in 1867, becoming superintendent, a position he held with a brief intermission until his death in 1903. Sherman Park is named in his honor, because he was for thirty years a South Parks Commissioner.

[1] Up to this time "fireproof" floors were constructed of wrought-iron beams with brick arches sprung between them and resting on their flanges. The destruction of the Equitable Building in New York proved that such construction was not fireproof — the exposed portions of the iron beams, on becoming heated from below, first bent and then entirely gave way. In the Montauk Building for the first time the iron floor-beams were protected with fire-clay tile, an air-chamber was left beneath the bottom of them, and outside this was a fire-clay plate.

In the Montauk Building for the first time metal was used in foundations — old sixty-six pound railroad iron buried in concrete being used to spread

In their enlarged offices in the Montauk Building, Burnham & Root designed the Rookery,[1] the Phœnix Insurance Building,[2] also the old Insurance Exchange,[3] and the first section of the Monadnock, the latter of sixteen stories above ground. When the Rookery was finished they moved into still more spacious quarters in that building, and there continued until the Railway Exchange was built by Mr. Burnham, in 1903.

Meanwhile Jenney & Mundie had built the Home Insurance Building, with cast-iron columns in the outer walls above the second story, and Holabird & Roche had erected the Tacoma Building with a complete riveted steel frame from the foundation up. These successes led Burnham & Root to design the Rand, McNally Building in the same manner. Thereafter, all the high buildings designed by them were of similar construction, including the last and most beautiful of all the great buildings that Root designed — the Temple at La Salle and Monroe Streets.[4]

In 1890 the Masonic Temple was completed. It was heralded as the tallest building in the world. This is among the first

the footing, a method resorted to because the former method of using stone so filled the basement that no room remained for steam boilers and elevator pumps. In time caissons dug to solid rock and filled with concrete came to be used. The problem of foundations was especially important in Chicago which rests on an alluvial deposit.

In the Montauk Building the attempt to get two "first" stories by making the lower one two or three feet below the level of the sidewalk was used for the first time. Thereafter clients were persuaded that they could get more rent from an office or shop on the sidewalk level than they could from two spaces, one below and the other above that level.

[1] The offices of D. H. Burnham & Co. (Hubert and Daniel H. Burnham, sons of D. H. Burnham) are now in the Rookery.

[2] Afterwards called the Western Union Telegraph Building.

[3] Replaced by one of D. H. Burnham & Co.'s latest creations, the Continental and Commercial National Bank Building.

[4] Peter B. Wight's address on the work of D. H. Burnham. *Architectural Record*, July, 1915.

buildings of all steel construction attributed to Burnham & Root, although they had used the cage construction in part for the Rookery and the Phœnix Insurance Building. The Monadnock was the last sky-scraper built in Chicago on spread foundation of steel and concrete, just as the Montauk was the first. "Thus," says Mr. Wight, "building history was made and an epoch recorded by Mr. Burnham and his coadjutors during his lifetime."

In a critical article on the architecture of Burnham & Root, Mr. A. N. Rebori avers that "it can be said with truth that Mr. Burnham lived during a period of opportunities in the making, a period during which the sky-scraper was not only conceived, but in which it was carried to its ultimate structural development. That he played a tremendous part in the growth of this truly American problem is at once apparent. The majority of the commercial buildings designed and planned under his direct control will readily prove that he possessed a marvellous administrative faculty. He was the dictator who organized the work of the various mechanical and technical experts who contributed to the making of tall buildings. He considered it was his first duty to permit the structure to serve in the most economical manner possible the functions for which it was intended."[1]

Important and characteristic of its time as was the commercial success of Burnham & Root, their contribution to the development of architecture in America is of primary concern here. The Chicago Fire of 1871 began a new epoch in the history of the city. As Mr. Burnham came to preach, it marked the beginning of civic consciousness, of coöperation among the

[1] *Architectural Record*, July, 1915.

BURNHAM AND ROOT IN THEIR OFFICE IN THE ROOKERY BUILDING
CHICAGO, ABOUT 1892

people for the city's advancement, of willingness and even desire and determination to accomplish the seemingly impossible. Then and there the Spirit of Chicago, to which he so confidently and successfully appealed in later years, had its birth. Up to the time of the fire, Chicago had been a thriving Western city; its architecture was essentially Western, with such exceptions as would naturally be found in a growing city of three or four hundred thousand people. Its best wholesale stores, as a rule, did not exceed five stories in height, although there were two or three of six stories, including one prominent marble building of the latter class. Its best residences were isolated and set in the midst of gardens. Its churches were pretentious and ugly, many of them being built of white limestone taken from quarries fifty miles away, which had been opened within fifteen years. The exceptions were St. James's, designed by Frank Wiles, of Montreal, and the Eames residence, on Michigan Avenue, by Richard Upjohn, of New York. The Marshall Field residence, designed by Richard M. Hunt, in process of erection at the time of the fire, was not reached in the destruction.

The extensive work during the first two years was confined mainly to rebuilding the business district. Then came the panic of 1873 to put a stop to building operations. It was fully six years before recovery was in progress. From 1880 until the panic of 1893 Chicago experienced an era of building greater than any known either before or since that period. In this new work, as we have seen, Burnham & Root had their full share.

In American architecture throughout the country the period was one of individuality and eclecticism. In the East, H. H. Richardson in Boston was exerting all his genius and the results of wide European training to invent a style of architecture

based on Romanesque and Byzantine types, and for ten or fifteen years his influence predominated throughout North America. His work in Massachusetts and in the cities of Albany, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati was in itself an inspiration to the architectural profession. In Chicago he built the Marshall Field warehouse, the Franklin MacVeagh and the J. J. Glessner residences and other houses. It has been said of him that "he was an artist and a genius and when he found the methods of the École des Beaux Arts slow and laborious he coined for himself a style, electric, personal, romantic — Gothic in spirit, Romanesque in detail — robust, virile, ingenious, but wholly barbaric: remarkable for its absence of proportion and sense of real beauty; in the hands of his followers lawless and now happily extinct." [1]

Richardson's style was unsuited to the modern requirements in respect to light and air, but he accomplished a great purpose in calling public attention to architecture as one of the fine arts, and it was in his office that the men were trained who were to satisfy modern demands and at the same time bring into our architecture those elements of beauty and proportion which create charm.

Mr. Peter B. Wight, in summing up the work of Burnham & Root, said that "John Root was too original in his own artistic conceptions to form his style on that of any other man. If his sails caught the fresh breeze of architectural appreciation among his clients, nevertheless he steered his ships into ports of his own choosing. The Chicago public had come to have a perception of the artistic side of architecture, and this fact gave the opportunity to Root to display his great versatility

[1] *The Promise of American Architecture* (Washington, 1905), p. 23.

and restrained originality, over which qualities Burnham enthused with all the exuberance of unrestrained enthusiasm. It was this which caused the business to increase, for Burnham never let an occasion pass without proclaiming the great talents of his partner. It was one of the secrets of their success. Also it relieved Root from any necessity of blowing his own trumpet. Burnham had a great faculty of impressing his clients with the firm's ability to solve any problem that came to it. He would make rapid sketches which Root afterward elaborated with the greatest care. He inspired confidence in all who came within the range of his positive and powerful personality. Root had the ability to carry to success anything that Burnham offered to do. There was a magnetism in both that attracted a large circle of friends. These friends saw quickly how intimate were the personal relations of the partners, and hence the combination brought success and was crowned by other successes."

It would have been strange, indeed, if John Root, whose ear was attuned to every melody, had not caught the impulses that Richardson was sending through the American architectural world. The earliest group of buildings erected by Burnham & Root are Romanesque in feeling, and were undoubtedly inspired by Richardson's successes. Other Chicago architects were likewise affected, and prior to the World's Fair not a single example of monumental classical architecture was erected in Chicago. Surely the former City Hall, with its mansard roof and puny, superimposed orders, does not belong to the classical category.

To the First Illinois Regiment Armory John Root imparted the Richardson (or, better, the Romanesque) feeling for great

wall spaces and small penetrations. Massiveness and vigor are combined with romantic charm after the manner of a master. The building is wholly without ornament, obtaining its effect, as architecture should, by dignity of proportion and the complete solution of the problem.

Mr. Burnham is credited in the profession with the conception of the Monadnock Building. Renouncing colonnades, mouldings, and every other embellishment, the designer secured his effect by the frank expression of structural requirements. Austere the building certainly is, but it rises into the realm of art by reason of subtleties of proportion and the direct manner in which it answers its intended large purpose.

That Mr. Burnham had a personal acquaintance with Richardson appears from a conversation between the two, which is reported in the "Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens." Richardson told Burnham that when he (Richardson) was designing the Allegheny County Court-House, in Pittsburgh, he sent for Saint-Gaudens and placed before him all the sketches for the building. Then he followed the sculptor's advice, being confident that Saint-Gaudens's opinion as to mass and outline was better than that of any other man.[1] Probably this was the beginning of Mr. Burnham's own high appreciation of Saint-Gaudens's judgment.

[1] *Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens*, by Homer Saint-Gaudens, vol. I, p. 327.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

1891–1893

I DO not know who first advocated holding a World's Fair on the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus," confessed Mr. Burnham, "but by the summer of 1889, New York, Washington, St. Louis, and Chicago had organizations at work, each in the interests of its own city.[1] The Chicago organization raised money by subscription and sent E. T. Jaffery, a well-known railway manager, and Mr. Chanute, an engineer, to examine and report on the French Universal Exposition then being held in Paris." It also elected a committee to report on sites. This committee invited Mr. Burnham to consult with them as to the location to be proposed in support of Chicago's claims before Congress. Meetings were held during the autumn and winter, but little work was accomplished. When it became certain that the fair would be held in Chicago, the State of Illinois licensed [2] the corporation known as the "World's Columbian Exposition."

Congress provided for a national commission entrusted with

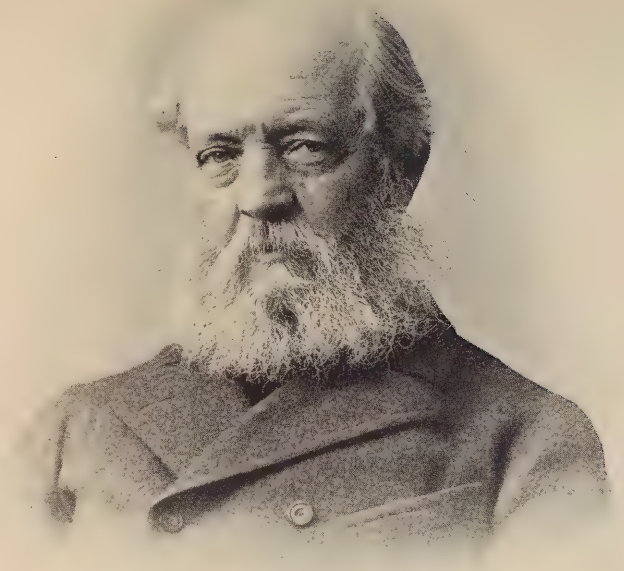
[1] The suggestion first appeared in the *New York Independent*, in a series of letters from Spain, written by Clarence W. Bowen, one of its editors. In 1884 Mr. Bowen went to Spain and had interviews with the King; Riaño, Minister of Public Instruction; with Castelar, and with the Duke of Veragua, representing the family of Columbus. It was Riaño who suggested the Columbus caravels sailing from Palos. Mr. Bowen kept the subject alive until it became an accomplished fact. (Manuscript letter from Mr. Bowen to the author, April, 1918.)

[2] April 9, 1890.

the care and custody of the exhibits, including communications with exhibitors and all intercourse with foreign officials. Also for a local corporation to build the exposition and conduct the fair. Each organization had its own officers.

There was the usual delay and waste of precious time in discussions as to the site. The national and the local commissions, the Chicago authorities and the railway officials all had divergent but positive views. Order was brought out of chaos by James W. Ellsworth. Mr. Ellsworth had not been a promoter of the fair project. He was opposed to fairs as commonly conducted and was in the management against his own desires. But being connected with the enterprise, he set about making the right beginning. To Lyman J. Gage, president of the Illinois organization, he suggested that Frederick Law Olmsted, the leading American landscape architect, be consulted. At first Mr. Gage demurred on the score of expense, but finally consented that Mr. Olmsted and his partner, Harry Codman, be invited to visit Chicago to consult with Mr. Burnham, who had continued to act as an informal adviser. On his way to Bar Harbor to keep an appointment with James G. Blaine, Mr. Ellsworth stopped at Brookline to see Mr. Olmsted, whom he found inclined not to have anything to do with "a fair." Whereupon Mr. Ellsworth set before Mr. Olmsted the alluring possibilities of a great exposition area with waterways, canals, lagoons, and fine architecture. He kindled Mr. Olmsted's enthusiasm with the prospect of developing six hundred acres at an outlay of fifteen million dollars. Mr. Ellsworth, almost alone among the directors at the beginning, saw the vision.

On his arrival in Chicago, Mr. Olmsted proceeded to examine



FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED

HENRY SARGENT CODMAN

in succession seven sites proposed for the location of the fair, three on Lake Michigan and four inland. None of the sites had anything to recommend it in the way of scenery. Quickly the inland sites were eliminated. Of the Lake sites he preferred the one on the north for two reasons: first, the cost of preparing the ground would be comparatively small; secondly, a spectacular effect would be produced by the great marine commerce of Chicago passing in review before the grounds. The railroads, however, refused to spend the money necessary to provide transportation facilities to the northern site.

Quite reluctantly Mr. Olmsted turned to Jackson Park.[1] He knew both the advantages and the disadvantages of this location. Years before the fair was thought of, he and his partner, Calvert Vaux, had made a plan for Jackson and Washington Parks and the connecting strip of land known as the Midway. During the intervening years no part of the plan for Jackson Park had been carried out, but there had been some development in Washington Park, mostly unintelligent. Before making formal report favoring Jackson Park, Mr. Olmsted took counsel with Burnham & Root with reference to the distribution of large buildings upon the sandy ridges and to spreading out these ridges by means of retaining walls backed by excavated material taken from spaces intended for lagoons.

The place was forbidding in the extreme. The land, made by the Lake, consisted of three ridges of sandbars parallel with the shore; the intervening swales were covered by boggy vegeta-

[1] "The Landscape Architecture of the World's Columbian Exposition," a paper read by Frederick Law Olmsted at the convention of the American Institute of Architects, Chicago, 1893.

tion. The few oak trees that found lodgment on the two innermost ridges stood with branches mutilated by the gales sweeping in from the Lake. The soil was subject to flooding and the sandy sub-soil was water-soaked. The engineers gave Mr. Olmsted the pleasing assurance that by the time the fair opened the surface of the Lake would be four feet higher than it was at the time he was studying the plan.

In order to fit the site for the purposes intended, it was apparent that the lagoons must take the character of canals; they must be made formal and their banks, which would necessarily be walls, must have an architectural character in harmony with the buildings to which they would form foregrounds. Here at least was a start.

On August 20, 1890, F. L. Olmsted & Co. were retained as consulting landscape architects; September 2, A. Gottlieb was made consulting engineer and Messrs. Burnham & Root consulting architects. In October, Burnham & Root resigned: Mr. Root was elected consulting architect, and Mr. Burnham was made chief of construction. These officers reported to the Grounds and Buildings Committee, the chairman of which committee was E. T. Jeffery, president of the Illinois Central Railroad. With clear ideas of centralization in management, Mr. Jeffery drew Mr. Burnham's commission so that all other officials would have to report directly to him and could make no communication excepting through him. In short, he was to be literally the head of the construction work.

At this time Mr. Burnham was forty-three years old. He was the senior member of an architectural firm that had built in the neighborhood of forty million dollars' worth of buildings. No other firm in Chicago, and probably no other firm in this

country, could show such a financial record. Besides their Chicago work, they had erected structures from Bar Harbor to San Francisco, and from Marquette to the City of Mexico. They had done no building in the chief cities of the East.

Mr. Burnham had a commanding presence; he was five feet eleven inches in height, with a broad forehead, blue eyes, and straight nose. His hair was brown and his mouth was covered by a heavy mustache. His square chin gave evidence of determination, but the dimple planted in it made for companionship. His bright complexion and full face made up a most agreeable personality. His disposition had two extremes: he could be severe, hard, exacting, regardless of the feelings of anybody who went contrary to the programme laid down; on the other hand, he could be affectionate, jovial, companionable, entertaining, and generously hospitable. In neither case did he ever lose his dignity. As with the MacGregor, where he sat was the head of the table.

The general scheme of land and water for the Exposition was suggested by Mr. Olmsted. The arrangement of the terraces, bridges, and landings was made by his partner, Harry Codman. The size and number of the buildings was determined by Olmsted, Codman, Burnham, and Root, working on a schedule made by the Classification Committee, the general orders being that the structures should contain an area about one third greater than the corresponding buildings at the Paris Exposition of 1889. The shape and disposition of the buildings were determined by Mr. Burnham and Mr. Root in consultation with the engineer, Mr. Gottlieb.

Several tentative plans were drawn on cross-sectional lithographed maps of Jackson Park. The National Commission

insisted that a plan be submitted for their approval. Thereupon "a crude plat on a large scale was rapidly drawn on brown paper, mostly with a pencil in the hands of Mr. Root, whose architectural prescience and coördinating talent was of invaluable service in the result." [1] The plat contemplated an architectural court, similar to the one at the Paris Exposition. This court should enclose a body of water and should serve as a dignified and impressive entrance hall to the Exposition. There was a formal canal leading northward from the court to a series of broader waters of a lagoon character, by which nearly the entire site would be penetrated, so that the principal buildings would have a water as well as a land frontage and would be approachable by boat. Also, it was decided that near the middle of the lagoon system there should be an island fifteen acres in area, in which would be clusters of the largest trees growing upon the site; that this island should be free from conspicuous buildings and that it should have a generally secluded, natural, sylvan aspect.

This large-scale brown-paper plat done in pencil, with brief written specifications almost equally sketchy, was submitted to the National Commission and to the Illinois corporation. On December 1, 1890, it was adopted as the Plan of the Exposition. Thus far, the only thing original in the scheme was the introduction of the canal, lagoons, and wooded island. The plan was the work of the four men in consultation, Olmsted, Codman, Burnham, and Root. It was not due to an inspiration, but was thought out logically step by step, keeping in view the immediate purposes of the exposition and the final treatment of the ground as a public park. It was a crude out-

[1] Statement of Mr. Burnham.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF ARCHITECTS AND THE GROUNDS AND BUILDING COMMITTEE OF THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, FEBRUARY 24, 1891

From a water-color by W. T. Smedley

Standing (left to right): Jenney, Davis, Adler, Beman, Schwab, Cregier, Burnham, Van Brunt, Codman, Whitehouse, McKim, Gottlieb

Sitting (left to right): Saint-Gaudens, Waller, Olmsted, Jeffery, Pike, Gage, Sullivan, Hunt, Post, Aldis, Cobb, Peabody

line without suggestion of architectural treatment or style. Up to this time nothing had been done or said as to the architecture proper, except idly and in a desultory way. Mr. Root was leaning to variety in style and color for the buildings.

On December 1, 1890, the status was as follows: the Exposition was to be built on two sites seven miles apart; one on the Lake front in the city and the other in Jackson Park; a sketch plan for part of the Jackson Park sites had been officially adopted. It was necessary immediately to take charge of nearly seven hundred acres of land, the larger part of which was swamp, to design and build the Exposition and place the exhibits, all to be accomplished in two years and five months. Every moment was precious. It was out of the question for the firm of Burnham & Root to think of designing any part of the buildings, because of the relations its members had already assumed toward the enterprise. Mr. Burnham, therefore, drew up a memorial to the Grounds and Buildings Committee, which the conferees signed. This memorial, dated December 9, 1890, shows that during the intimate and protracted conferences an ideal larger and finer than anything theretofore accomplished in any country had been created in the minds of the designers. The memorial is as follows:

To the Grounds and Buildings Committee:

Preliminary work in locating buildings, in determining their general areas, and in other elementary directions necessary to proper progress in the design and erection of the structures of the Columbian Exposition has now reached a point where it becomes necessary to determine a method by which designs for these buildings shall be obtained.

We recognize that your action in the matter will be of great importance, not only in its direct effect upon the artistic and commercial success of the Exposition, but hardly less upon the aspect presented by America to the world, and also as a precedent for future procedure in this country by the Government, by corporations and by individuals.

In our advisory capacity we wish to recommend such action to you as will be productive of the best results, and will at the same time be in accord with the expressed sentiments of the architectural societies of America.

The following suggestions relate only to the central group of buildings in Jackson Park, it being the intention from time to time to designate other architects for the various important structures that are to be erected in addition thereto.

That these buildings should be in their design, relationship, and arrangement of the highest possible architectural merit is of importance scarcely less than that of the variety, richness, and comprehensiveness of the various displays within them. Such success is not so much dependent upon the expenditure of money as upon the expenditure of thought, knowledge, and enthusiasm by men known to be in every way endowed with these qualifications; and the results achieved by them will be the measure by which America, and especially Chicago, must expect to be judged by the world.

Several methods of procedure suggest themselves: first, the selection of one man to whom the designing of the entire work should be entrusted; second, competition made free to the whole architectural profession; third, competition among a selected few; fourth, direct selection.

The first method would possess some advantages in the coherent and logical result which would be obtained, but the objections are that time for the preparation of designs is so short that no one man could hope to do the subject justice, even were he broad enough to avoid, in a work of such varied and colossal character, monotonous repetition of ideas. And again, such a method would invoke criticism, just or unjust, and would certainly debar the enterprise from the friendly coöpera-

tion of diversity of talent, which can be secured only by bringing together only the best architectural minds of the country.

Second. The second method named has been employed in France and other European countries with success, and would probably result in the production of a certain number of plans possessing more or less merit and novelty. But in such a competition much time, even now most valuable, would be wasted, and the result would be a mass of irrelevant and almost irreconcilable material, which would demand great and extended labor to bring into coherence. It is greatly to be feared that from such a heterogeneous competition the best men in the profession would refrain, not only because the uncertainties involved in it are too great and their time too valuable, but because the societies to which they almost universally belong have so strongly pronounced on its futility.

Third. A limited and fair competition would prevent fewer embarrassments, but even in this case the question of time is presented, and it is most unlikely that any result derived through this means, coming as it would from necessarily partial acquaintance with the subject and hasty, ill-considered presentation of it, could be satisfactory; and the selection of an individual would be open to the same objections made above as to a single designer. Far better than any of the other methods seems to be the last.

Fourth. This is to select a certain number of architects, choosing each man for such work as would be most nearly parallel with his best achievements. These architects to meet in conference, become masters of all the elements to be solved, and agree upon some general scheme of procedure.

The preliminary studies resulting from this to be compared and freshly discussed in a subsequent conference and, with the assistance of such suggestions as your advisers may make, be brought into a harmonious whole.

The honor conferred upon those so selected would create in their minds a disposition to place the artistic quality of their work in advance of the mere question of emoluments; while the emulation begotten in a rivalry so dignified and friendly

could not fail to be productive of a result which would stand before the world as the best fruit of American civilization.

D. H. Burnham
Chief of Construction
John W. Root
Consulting Architect
F. L. Olmsted & Co.
Consulting Landscape Architects
A. Gottlieb
Chief Engineer

Naturally, the paper precipitated a heated debate in the Committee on Grounds and Buildings. Finally, by a narrow margin, the recommendations were adopted. On request of the committee, Mr. Burnham selected five men or firms, and the committee promptly confirmed the selection. Thereupon, Mr. Burnham sent to each of the selected ones this letter:

[*December* 12]

The enclosed recommendation was approved last night by the Board of Directors of the World's Columbian Exposition, and in the same resolution they empowered the Grounds and Buildings Committee to secure the services of five architects to design the main group of buildings at Jackson Park.

The Committee authorizes me to confer with the following gentlemen, namely, Richard M. Hunt, of New York; McKim, Mead & White, of New York; George B. Post, of New York; Peabody & Stearns, of Boston; Van Brunt & Howe, of Kansas City; with a view to your employment.

It is intended to place the problem in your hands as to the artistic aspects only — first, of the group as a whole; second, of the separate buildings.

The Committee are disposed to leave the methods of designing to the five architects, and you may determine among yourselves whether to make a joint design of the whole as one, or each to take up separate parts to be modified to meet such views

McKIM, MEAD, AND WHITE
Left to right: William R. Mead, Charles F. McKim, Stanford White

as shall be expressed in your conferences from time to time. This bureau will be expected to supply you with all data about materials, sizes, general disposition, and cost of building, and it is also to have charge of the constructional features, and finally of the execution of the entire work, but with the understanding that the artistic parts are to be carried out with your approval and that you are from time to time to visit the work either in a body or separately as may be determined wise. Our consulting architect, Mr. Root, would act as your interpreter when you are absent without imparting into the work any of his own feelings.

I realize the hesitancy you may feel in assuming the responsibility for a design when you do not fully control the execution of it. The Committee feel, however, that strict economy of the two essentials, time and money, will be best subserved by keeping the actual control of the work in the hands of one man and his bureau; and I can assure you that your intents and purposes of design, once agreed upon by the Committee, shall be carried out as you wish and that they shall not be altered or meddled with, and when exigencies arise making any important change necessary, you shall be consulted and have the matter in charge the same as in original design.

I shall be pleased to hear from you by wire if you think favorably of this proposition. I shall be here until Monday evening, and, unless detained, shall be in New York City Wednesday next, stopping at the Windsor. As in a personal interview it will be possible to make matters much more plain, I hope I may find a note saying that I may have the honor of seeing you. Those who accept should make a preliminary visit here together as soon as possible.

Yours very truly

D. H. BURNHAM

Chief of Construction

On receipt of Mr. Burnham's invitation the Eastern architects held a meeting at the office of McKim, Mead & White, at which the general type of architecture to be used was dis-

cussed. It was decided to recommend a common height of cornice. Mr. Mead remembers particularly that at this meeting Mr. McKim got on his feet to give his views and began with a series of preliminary remarks. He was interrupted by Mr. Hunt, who exclaimed: "Damn your preliminaries, get down to facts!"

While Mr. Mead cannot definitely remember who made the suggestion that the classic motive be used, he has a distinct impression that it was the unanimous opinion of the Eastern architects that the classic motive should be used. Mr. Mead took an active part in the early meetings of the architects of the Fair, but dropped out of active participation later on, when Mr. McKim virtually devoted his whole time to the work. It is to be noted that the idea of a unified composition is contained in the letter of invitation to the Eastern architects, which was written by Mr. Burnham and gives ample evidence of his passion for orderly arrangement. The letter must have been the result of conversations with Mr. Root and Mr. Olmsted. The choice of the classical motive, however, was absolutely new to Chicago, no architect in that city having used it up to the time of the Fair.

On December 22, Mr. Burnham met at dinner, in New York, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Post, Mr. Mead, and Mr. Peabody. He had a telegram of acceptance from Mr. Van Brunt. The Eastern architects were lukewarm. Chicago was a long way from home. They were skeptical as to funds. It took all of Mr. Burnham's power of persuasion to win them over; but once committed they became enthusiastic.

On his return Mr. Burnham was authorized to select five Chicago architects to design five other great structures of the

Exposition. He named Burling & Whitehouse, Jenney & Mundie, Henry Ives Cobb, S. S. Beman, and Adler & Sullivan, all of whom accepted.

On January 10, 1891, the first meeting of the architects took place in the office of Burnham & Root, with Mr. Hunt in the chair, and Mr. Sullivan acting as secretary. During the afternoon, Mr. Root, who had been in Georgia, arrived. He remained in the office while Mr. Burnham drove the visitors to Jackson Park. "It was a cold winter day," Mr. Burnham related; "the sky was overcast with clouds and the Lake was covered with foam. We looked the place over. Robert Peabody climbed up on a pier and called down: 'Do you mean to say that you really propose opening a Fair here by '93?' 'Yes,' I replied, 'we intend to.' 'It can't be done,' he said. 'That point is settled,' I replied."

That night the Grounds and Buildings Committee gave a dinner to the architects. Mr. Gage presided and made a charming speech. Next Mr. Jeffery spoke. Then Mr. Burnham was called on. He said that in one sense the Columbian Exposition was to be the third great American event, comparable to 1776 and 1861. "In both these crises men came to the front and gave themselves up to the public. So the times now demand self-sacrifice. The success of this undertaking depends upon team work: if you work for the Exposition as a whole, it will be a great success." There was a fine response. The Chicago men promptly responded to the old appeal of the Spirit of Chicago on which they had been brought up. From that night the spirit of coöperation never failed.

The next day Mr. Root asked the visitors for five o'clock tea at his home on Astor Place. When they appeared he was in

evening dress ready to go to a dinner. When they were leaving he went out into the cold wind to see them into their carriages.

The next morning while the meeting of the architects was in progress [Mr. Burnham relates], Mrs. Root [1] called me up to say that John had a bad cold, but might come in for the afternoon. In the afternoon she called again to say that her husband had pneumonia. During the next three days I remained with him nearly all the time, day and night. On Thursday Harry Codman went with me to the house, but did not go in. John was breathing rapidly when I entered his room. "You won't leave me again, will you?" he pleaded. I promised to stay. Later I went in to see his wife, who was very ill. His aunt came into the room and told me that John was dead. She told that he had put his hands on the counterpane as if he were running them over a keyboard, saying, "Do you hear that; is n't it wonderful? That is what I call music." Then he threw up his hands and was gone.

John Root possessed a mind remarkable for its artistic insight, quickness, and clearness of apprehension and deep sympathy with everything of value about him. Though filled to running over with his own suggestive thoughts, he never failed to grasp another's. It was his everyday custom to coördinate the elements of discussions with a rapidity and finish that seemed marvellous. His very visions were as real to him as the actual objects of life are to the eyes of other men. He saw comprehensively and exactly through both his natural eyes and those of his spirit; and his power of expression to the ears, the eyes, or the hearts of others kept pace with his own vivid impressions. I cannot, of course, believe that the architecture of the Exposition would have been better had he lived, but it cer-

[1] John Root married Mary Louise Walker, who lived but six weeks after the wedding. Two years later, in 1882, he married Dora Louise Monroe, an intimate friend of his first wife, and the daughter of Henry Stanton Monroe, a Chicago lawyer. Three children were born to them: Margaret, John Wellborn, and Mary Louise. A romantic study of the life of John Wellborn Root, by Harriet Monroe, with etchings, drawings, and facsimiles of his designs, was published in 1896 by Houghton Mifflin Company.

John W. Root

tainly would have been modified and stamped with something of his great individuality. Our personal relations had been intimate and even fond from the week when first we met. We had lived together for eighteen years without a written agreement — or a quick word — between us. When he died I remained with the Exposition only in deference to the judgment and wishes of my friends among the directors.

The discussions of the architects extended through the week after the death of Mr. Root. The plan was modified by important changes. At the end of the meeting Mr. Burnham apportioned the work as follows: Frederick Law Olmsted & Co., landscape; Richard M. Hunt, Administration Building; Peabody & Stearns, Machinery Hall; McKim, Mead & White, Agricultural Building; George B. Post, Manufactures and Liberal Arts; Van Brunt & Howe, Electricity; S. S. Beman, Mines and Mining; Adler & Sullivan, Transportation; Henry Ives Cobb, Fisheries; Burling & Whitehouse, Venetian Village; W. L. B. Jenney, Horticultural Building.

Harry Codman's knowledge of formal settings [says Mr. Burnham] was greater than that of all the others put together. He proposed to carry back the fountain [the MacMonnies fountain in the Court of Honor] taking it out of the north and south axis. He took the rough plan to Brookline and set to work seriously on exact dimensions, terraces, placing of bridges, and the general laying-out of a piece of formal work. We had given no consideration to the terraces, but had agreed that the Italian Renaissance style of architecture should be adopted for the Court of Honor. Harry Codman was great in his knowledge and in his instinct. He never failed. He liked to come to the business meetings, and occasionally he made excellent suggestions about organization. I loved the man.[1] Nature spoke through him direct.

[1] Mr. Burnham's affection for Harry Codman was shared by Mr. McKim

At their January meeting the architects confirmed the general scheme, settled the exact sizes of Court and Canal, fixed the location of the main buildings, agreed upon the height of the cornice around the main court, and also the approximate height of the terraces above datum. When they met again in February, Charles McKim came instead of Mr. Mead. The architects brought with them in their private car Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

I had seen the necessity [said Mr. Burnham, in relating the story of this momentous meeting] of having an adviser as to the sculptural decoration; so I wrote to Saint-Gaudens asking if he would come out to give general advice and also select the sculptors.

We had a breakfast for the visiting men. They were filled with enthusiasm. Charles McKim, with a good deal of repressed excitement, broke out, saying: "Bob Peabody wants to carry a canal down between our buildings." I said I would agree to that, even though it would cost something. That was Peabody's contribution to the landscape of the Fair. At night that canal was wonderfully beautiful. Next, Saint-Gaudens took a hand. He said the east end of the composition should be bound together architecturally. All agreed. He suggested a statue[1] backed by thirteen columns, typifying the thirteen original States. All hailed this as a bully thing. A day or two later a meeting was held at my office, the Grounds and Buildings Committee being present. Lyman J. Gage presided. All the fellows, including the Chicago men, were there, each with

and others who knew him. His feeling for and knowledge of architectural effects seemed intuitive. He lived in the minds and hearts of his friends so long as they lived. He died during the Fair, on January 13, 1893, at the age of twenty-nine years. He was a nephew of Professor C. S. Sargent, a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and a pupil of Edouard André, of Paris.

[1] The Republic, for which Saint-Gaudens selected Daniel Chester French, saying that no one else could do it so well. Chicago now has a replica in bronze.

AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS

his sketch or sketches. One by one they put the drawings on the wall. Hunt, crippled by rheumatism, sat on the edge of the table and told about his Administration Building, with its dominating dome expressing the leadership of the Government. The scheme as a whole began to take hold of us. Then came Post. George Post had a dome four hundred and fifty feet high. When they saw that dome a murmur ran around the group. George turned about, saying, "I don't think I shall advocate that dome; probably I shall modify the building." Charles McKim had a portico extending out over the terrace. It was extremely prominent. He did not wait as George had done, but explained that the portico had merely been under consideration and that he should withdraw it to the face of the building.

Thus was the feeling for unity manifested; and the willingness of those two men to subordinate their individual ideas in order to produce a single harmonious effect illustrates the spirit which made possible the artistic success of the Fair. Where those two led, all others were willing to follow.

So the day went on. Luncheon was brought in. Then came the large Chicago committee. The winter afternoon was drawing to an end. The room was as still as death, save for the low voice of the speaker commenting on his design. It seemed as if a great magnet held every one in its grasp. Finally, when the last drawing had been shown, Mr. Gage drew a long breath. Standing against a window and shutting his eyes, he exclaimed, "Oh, gentlemen, this is a dream." Then, opening his eyes, he smilingly continued, "You have my good wishes, I hope the dream can be realized."

All day long Saint-Gaudens had been sitting in a corner, never opening his mouth and scarcely moving. He came over to me, and taking both my hands said, "Look here, old fellow, do you realize that this is the greatest meeting of artists since the fifteenth century!"

Afterwards, the officers of the National Commission met the architects and the sketches were shown to them. Late in February, 1891, the whole work was adopted by all the authorities.

It was determined that the Woman's Building should be designed by a woman, selected by an architectural competition. Twelve sets of sketches were submitted. Miss Sophia G. Hayden, of Boston, won the first prize and designed the building. Miss Lois Howe, of Boston, won second place, and Miss Laura Hayes, of Chicago, third place.

The death of Mr. Root left the office without its chief designer. In casting about to fill this place, Mr. Burnham consulted several Eastern men, among them Professor Ware, of Columbia University, who strongly urged the selection of Charles B. Atwood. Charles McKim shook his head in doubt. However, Mr. Burnham made an appointment to meet Atwood at the Brunswick Hotel in New York. Atwood did not keep the appointment. After waiting an hour, Mr. Burnham left the hotel to catch his train to Chicago. As he was crossing the street, a man stepped up and accosted him, saying that he was Mr. Atwood. Whereupon Mr. Burnham brusquely replied that he was on his way to Chicago, and if necessary would communicate with him later, intimating that it would not be necessary. Within four hours after Mr. Burnham reached his office, Atwood entered. As a result of the conference, Mr. Atwood became the chief designer for Mr. Burnham's private work. The demands of the Fair, however, became so insistent that he was compelled to give up the private work.

Charles Atwood designed more than sixty of the Fair buildings, besides various ornamental features. Continuing the Atwood story, Mr. Burnham said:

I asked him to design an art building and explained what was wanted. He was very gentle, with an engaging manner and certainly he was a very great artist. His Art Building in design was the most beautiful building I have ever seen. I sent a blue-

BURNHAM AND ATWOOD IN THE WORLD'S FAIR DRAUGHTING-ROOM
From a drawing by Thulstrup

print of the Art Building to New York. The architects took it to the Players Club whence they sent the most enthusiastic telegram saying that it was a triumph of architecture.[1]

When it came to the Peristyle I sent a letter to the governor of each of the thirteen original States, asking for a granite column to carry out Saint-Gaudens's suggestion. I asked Atwood to prepare a drawing for those columns, but he kept putting me off. One day I told him I could wait no longer. Then he pulled out a drawer and showed me a column beautifully drawn. He inquired if I had really made up my mind about the scheme. I asked what he meant, catching from his manner that he was holding back something. He said he felt that the screen as planned would be too thin, that something more solid and better tied together was needed. He was very gentle, but I perceived that he had in mind some scheme, and I asked if he could suggest anything. Thereupon, he took out a drawing of the Peristyle exquisitely rendered. It was as if some one had flung open the Golden Gates before me. I told him there was no question about it. I sent a copy to New York. There was not even a suggestion of a possible alteration. They telegraphed most emphatically that they were glad of the change. Charles McKim came often, as the others also did. McKim would go into the details of things with me. He was an inspiration. He spent one entire afternoon looking over Atwood's drawings. Every little while he took down the books, looked at them, and then, turning to me, would say: "Confound him, he is right every time."

Mr. Atwood's work on the Art Building and the Peristyle came about in this way. The Venetian Village was abandoned when it was decided to place the Music and Fine Arts Buildings in Jackson Park instead of on the downtown site originally selected. Mr. Whitehouse was urged to design the Fine Arts Palace, but severe illness at the time prevented him from doing it. This building then went to Mr. Atwood. The original loca-

[1] The motives of the Art Building appear in the Field Museum, designed by D. H. Burnham & Co., erected in accordance with the Plan of Chicago, on the Lake Front.

tion of the Venetian Village was on the end of the Pier in front of the Grand Court. When the Village was given up, Saint-Gaudens suggested the thirteen columns shown on the earlier plans of the work. This design being deemed inadequate, the Music Hall, Peristyle, and Casino, as one composition, was entrusted to Mr. Atwood; and Mr. Whitehouse took up the very important work of designing the Festival Hall. The total area of the buildings was just under two hundred acres.

Frank Millet came in about three months after our first meeting. I had selected as Director of Color, William Pretyman, largely on account of his great friendship with John Root. He was to have charge of the decoration; and knowing that staff was to be used he had begun to work out a general coloring. He concluded that ivory would be the best color. The Eastern crowd came out when Beman's building was nearly finished. I was urging every one on, knowing it was an awful fight against time. We talked about colors, and finally the thought came, "Let us make it all perfectly white." I don't recall who made the suggestion. It might have been one of those ideas that occur to all minds at once, as so often happens. At any rate, the decision was mine. At the time Pretyman was in the East, and I had Beman's building made cream white. When Pretyman came back he was outraged. He said that so long as he was in charge I must not interfere. I told him I saw it differently. He then said he would get out, and he did. McKim and George Post recommended Frank Millet for the place. I had great faith in Post's judgment of men; so I went down to New York and met Frank at a dinner given at Delmonico's. I offered Frank fifteen thousand dollars a year, the largest salary paid to any one on the staff. I told the directors I thought we should pay that, and indeed we could not afford to do anything else. Frank said it cost him that to live. He organized the whitewash-gang. Turner of New York had devised a method of blowing paint on buildings, and this Frank adopted. Afterwards, it came into general use for painting freight-cars.[1]

[1] It is now used in painting automobile trucks and the cheaper motor bodies.

This brings the history down to about March, 1891. Now for the first time the Chief of Construction was enabled to form an estimate of the work to be done. Roughly speaking, it consisted of reclaiming nearly seven hundred acres of ground, only a small portion of which was improved, the remainder being in a state of nature and covered with water or wild-oak ridges. In twenty months this must be converted into a site suitable in substance and decoration for an exposition of the industries and the entertainment of representatives of all the nations of the world. On its stately terraces a dozen palaces were to be built — all of great extent and of high architectural importance — these to be supplemented by two hundred other structures, some of which were to be almost the size of the Exposition buildings themselves. Great canals, basins, lagoons, and islands were to be formed; extensive docks, bridges, and towers to be constructed. The standard of the entire work was to be kept up to a degree of excellence which should place it on a level with the monuments of other ages. The opportunity for gaining honorable distinction, however, made the duty of choosing men for the force comparatively easy, and in a very short time after the plans were finally adopted the men were on the field of action, working with one object — the welfare of the great enterprise.[1]

[1] The staff was made up of Charles B. Atwood, Designer in Chief; Francis D. Millet, Director of Color; E. G. Nourse, General Engineer; Frederick Sargent, Electrical Engineer; J. C. Slocum, Mechanical Engineer; William S. MacHarg, Sanitary and Water Engineer; John W. Alvord, Engineer of Grades and Surveys; Ernest R. Graham, Assistant Chief of Construction; Rudolph Ulrich, Landscape Superintendent; Dion Geraldino, General Superintendant. Later these changes occurred: Frederick Sargent assumed entire charge of all mechanical plants, Mr. Slocum going out, and R. H. Pierce becoming the electrical engineer. In March, Mr. Sargent withdrew, leaving Charles F. Foster in charge as the mechanical engineer. Mr. Gottlieb, the Chief Engineer, withdrew in the summer of 1891, and Mr. Shankland took his place. Then W. H. Holcomb joined the force as General Manager of Transportation. Colonel Edmund Rice, U.S.A., assumed control of the guard in May, 1892; Edward Murphy took charge of the fire department in December, 1892, taking the place of A. C. Speed, who had been in charge until then. C. D. Arnold was made Official Photographer; and John E. Owens was appointed Medical Director.

During the storms of summer, the frosts of winter, all day, all night, week in and week out, for two years the little band of American boys ran the race for victory with Father Time and won it. Without looking for or expecting compensation at all equal to the services they rendered, without jealousy, with eager willingness, these men were ever to the front, emulating each other in the amount and quality of the service rendered. Though I cannot pick out individuals to be praised, I can congratulate all on the glory they have won through constancy and self-sacrifice. They showed what to me is the greatest heroism — forbearance and constant helpfulness. I was most proud to have been associated with them.

MR. BURNHAM AND HIS WORLD'S FAIR STAFF

1. J. Worcester
2. P. O'Malley
3. H. Parish
4. J. E. Hicks
5. H. E. Graham
6. J. F. Weissinger
7. C. Humphrey
8. R. B. Cavanaugh
9. W. B. Green
10. M. M. Chesrown
11. L. A. Scovil
12. J. E. Kelly
13. Lieut. F. A. Smith
14. F. Cordiar
15. M. B. Pickett
16. A. B. Smith
17. C. H. Baldwin
18. H. DeLong
19. E. H. Jackson
20. S. Donlan
21. F. E. Ferguson
22. C. M. Wilkes
23. J. W. Alvord
24. T. H. Montgomery
25. W. C. Force
26. G. H. Binckley
27. R. Ulrich
28. S. G. Neiler
29. J. Brifield
30. H. Hudson
31. C. F. Foster
32. H. Higginbotham
33. C. C. Whitmore
34. E. G. Nourse
35. W. B. MacHarg
36. W. D. Richardson
37. R. H. Pierce
38. E. C. Shankland
39. M. Murray
40. C. D. Arnold
41. C. B. Atwood
42. F. D. Millet
43. Col. E. Rice
44. D. H. Burnham
45. E. R. Graham
46. W. H. Holcomb
47. F. M. Symonds
48. Dr. J. E. Owens

CHAPTER V

FRIENDSHIPS OF THE FAIR

IT was impossible to do private work and handle the problems of the Fair. There were the committees to be appeased: the National Committee, which had a fine opinion of itself and insisted on knowing about everything that was done and why; and the Chicago Committee, that was responsible for raising the money to pay for the creations of the artists, creations each day growing finer and more costly. And there were the artists themselves, who had caught the spirit of high excellence. Each one had the idea that his creation was being slighted, and was ready to fight for it. To these add the contractors bent on making as much money as possible out of their jobs. To harmonize all these clashing interests, to light and fan the fires of patriotism so as to burn away the personal element and produce a unified result to which each should contribute his full share; all this required insight, tact, appreciation, and determination. What private work was in the office was handled by Dwight H. Perkins. Family life had to be sacrificed. Amid the welter and bustle going on about him, Mr. Burnham built a shack in which he lived surrounded by visiting architects, painters, sculptors, and such visitors as he might invite. Here, after night came in from the broad Lake to put an end to the day's work, he gathered about the long table his guests, each eager to discuss his particular problems. Here his masterful personality was tempered by quickness to get new points of view and by a wide sympathy that led him to

select, approve, and determine to fight for whatever things were good and true and fine.

The fluctuating household at The Shack included men who had already won the honors in their professions, but was especially strong in the younger men; because Mr. Burnham always was seeking for artists of training and ability who had not done their supreme work. He believed firmly in entrusting great tasks to men who would put their very life-blood into them with the hope thereby of winning lasting fame. There came into that goodly company the Jove-like and jovial Richard M. Hunt, first of Americans to conquer in the Ecole des Beaux Arts, who was understood to have worked on the façade of a portion of the Louvre. To his personality, no less than to his Administration Building dome, his companions-in-arms readily yielded domination. Yet his ready wit was no respecter of personages, and he never hesitated to let fly shafts that penetrated the strongest armor of self-conceit.[1] Then there was that typical New Yorker, George Post, whose walrus-like visage comported not at all with an expansive, genial nature that viewed the world in the round and found it good. And George Maynard, struggling with his Pompeiian decorations; and Edwin Blashfield, gentlest of knights of brush and pen, who was beginning those achievements in decoration that were to establish mural painting in this country; together with Kenyon Cox, who by both precept and example has had large

[1] Charles McKim relates that after completing his pseudo-classical residence on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Thirty-Fourth Street, which McKim replaced with the Knickerbocker Trust Building, Alexander T. Stewart said: "Mr. Hunt, you are the only person I have met who has n't congratulated me on my Greek house. How do you like it?" Mr. Hunt, glowering at the merchant prince, exclaimed: "Greek, yes; Greek to you and Greek to me!"

part in the cultivation of American taste; and C. Y. Turner, with the visage of Shakspere, and a wit as lively. Gari Melchers, fresh from European triumphs, came to place his "War" and "Peace," painted with the approval of the master Puvis de Chavannes, who accompanied the young American to the ceremony when the latter was invested with the cross of the Legion of Honor, and who bestowed on him the jewel that the Third Napoleon had pinned on Chavannes's own breast. Came also, for longer or shorter periods, Armstrong and Carrol Beckwith, Coleman, Dodge, Earle, Garnsey, McEwen, Reinhardt, Walter Shirlaw, Sullivan, with Alden Weir, whose sunny smile spread over his broad face as sunshine would come to light up one of those trout-pools that could always lure him from a canvas. Under the nimble pencils of Simmons and Robert Reid the foibles of members of the company were hit off in caricatures grotesque, pungent, satirical, but always good-natured.[1]

Marshalled by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, the sculptors for the first time in America took their rightful place in coöperation with the architects. And what a troop they were. There was Daniel French, embodying the spirit of permanence and clearsightedness in the serene figure of The Republic that graciously presided over the Court of Honor; and again, in conjunction with Edward Potter, manifesting sustained ability in the quadriga surmounting the Peristyle and in animal sculpture. Frederick MacMonnies, giving vent to the exuberance of America in the joyous fountain that lent gaiety to the great central motive of the Fair; Olin Warner, whose early death

[1] One set of these caricatures is in the possession of James W. Ellsworth, now living in New York. A smaller set is with the Burnham papers.

lost to the country an artist on his way to the heights; Paul Bartlett, then a promise which opportunity has fulfilled; Edwin Kemys, with his animal sculpture that came to attract all the money Theodore Roosevelt could spare for art; and Louis Saint-Gaudens, wanting only the intellectual element to put him in the same class with his brother; and Carl Bitter, capable and conscientious, whose accidental death brought grief to a host of admirers; and Loredo Taft, who has put the ethereal, haunting spirit of the Great Lakes into his Chicago fountain; Larkin G. Mead, sculptor of the old school; Phemister Proctor, lover of American animals; besides Bela Pratt, Rohl-Smith, Bush-Brown, Rideout, Boyle, Waagen, Bauer, Martiny, Blankinship, and the satisfactory Partridge.

When friction threatened to create warmth, there was the pervasive Frank Millet, world knowing and world-known, to keep the fires of friendship brightly burning with his racy stories, and his infinite capacity for ministering to others before looking out for himself.

Merrily sped the hours with jests and stories and practical jokes by the painters and sculptors, and on Sunday evenings there was music by a band made up from Theodore Thomas's Orchestra, with the master himself to direct them. One is reminded of Michaelangelo's suppers described by Benvenuto Cellini—but always without the "crows." When the long talks died down with the fire in the great fireplace, each sought his cot, often to be haled forth when some eager one, whose head had no sooner touched pillow than an earth-shaking idea popped into his brain, called his fellows to a conference that would brook no delay. Like ghosts they would emerge, and, with fire renewed, discuss the absorbing proposition. Yet no

LOG CABIN ON THE WOODED ISLAND
The scene of the artists' revels

THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING ILLUMINATED
Designed by Richard M. Hunt

matter if the small hours grew larger, all knew that with the return of daylight the great wagon would be at the door and every last soul of them would be bundled in to make the entire tour of the grounds. Every member of the Burnham household was required to make a survey of the proposition as it stood each morning. This principle of a common point of view for all workers on a project was one that Mr. Burnham carried out in all his work, even to the end of his life. It was one of the reasons of his success.

The wide acquaintance with all the factors that go to create a building — with architects, landscape architects, sculptors, painters, decorators, and contractors — proved invaluable to Mr. Burnham in later life. Among the multitude of people associated with him in the work, he found the men who were to make his staff for private work. Also he gained a knowledge of the temperaments and capacities of the men on whom he afterwards called to assist him in public projects. Moreover, he had his own architectural taste and aims directed and cultivated.

Especially he formed friendships that were to enrich and ennoble his after life, giving to him, as he also gave to them, encouragement and support in struggles to attain always the best things. With them he saw the vision and in company with them he worked, not merely for the present, but always for the future. That future was to him as large and fine as the human mind could conceive. Herein was another element of his success. He not only saw farther than others at the beginning; but in a varying measure he was able to make others partakers in his visions.

One of the productive friendships was with Theodore

Thomas. In scale with the high ideals of the Fair, the management secured the Theodore Thomas Orchestra to give daily concerts. For reasons of their own Steinway & Sons were not among the exhibitors. But the contracts made with foreign artists gave to them the right to name the instruments on which those artists should play. The music-instrument manufacturers took the stand before the National Committee that only instruments represented in the Exposition should be used, and that organization took up the fight. The Chicago Committee, appalled by the dropping of receipts caused by the panic of 1893, succumbed to the lure of cutting expenses by dropping the concerts. Mr. Thomas sympathized with the manufacturers, but was in duty bound to maintain his contracts with the artists and to protect them in their rights. Mr. Burnham and Mr. Ellsworth fought Mr. Thomas's battles; but the latter, after securing the carrying-out of the contracts with the musicians, resigned. Nothing ties men together tighter than fighting side by side, and after that Thomas and Burnham became the firmest of friends, to their personal enjoyment and to the benefit of Chicago, as the sequel proves.

The year after the Fair came the expiration of the first three years' guarantee of the fifty-two men who underwrote the cost of the Thomas Orchestra. Chicago was in the midst of a deep financial depression, and the orchestra was losing the entire guarantee fund of $50,000 a year. Added to these disheartening circumstances were the continuous attacks of the "Chicago Chronicle," growing out of the piano controversy during the Fair. At this juncture Bryan Lathrop came to the front, and Burnham joined the board of trustees as reorganized. Being a great believer in the mollifying and money-raising effi-

cacy of dinners, Burnham organized three such feasts for paying off deficits as they occurred.

In 1903, when the Thomas Orchestra seemed about to go under, Burnham organized a syndicate of ten men to buy the Leroy Payne property, next north of the Railway Exchange, each man putting in $10,000, and all uniting in giving a mortgage for $350,000. To the Orchestral Association the land was offered at cost. The offer was accepted; subscriptions for $650,000 were obtained by Messrs. Burnham, Bryan Lathrop, and C. N. Fay; plans drawn by Robard were contributed by Mr. Burnham; the building was constructed and was mortgaged to pay the remainder of the cost.[1]

The basis of Mr. Burnham's friendship with artists was his genuine and whole-hearted appreciation of their creative abilities. His friendship for John Root was firmly grounded on his admiration of Mr. Root's qualities as an artist, and when he lauded his partner's abilities to clients he did so with a conviction that transcended all thoughts of money-making.

In the case of his friendship with Augustus Saint-Gaudens, there was of course no question of money. Like Richardson, Burnham regarded the sculptor's taste as supreme. During the work on the Fair he had occasion to see the true modesty and nice discrimination Saint-Gaudens displayed in refraining from accepting commissions for himself, and with fine appreciation assigning to his fellow-sculptors the work which each was best fitted to execute. It may be answered that Saint-Gaudens's genius would never respond to whip and spur, and that to re-

[1] C. N. Fay's article on the Thomas Orchestra in *The Outlook* for January 22, 1910. See also the history of the Thomas Orchestra, by Philo Otis.

quire work to be completed by a certain date would have meant no work at all. But it took a fine control to forego the great opportunity to be represented after the manner of his choice in an assemblage of sculptors such as never before had been gathered together in America.[1]

On the walls of Mr. Burnham's home hung — as they still hang — large photographs of Saint-Gaudens's standing figure of Lincoln and the Puritan; and on his mantel stood an original of the head designed for the Henry Adams Monument in Rock Creek Cemetery in Washington, perhaps the greatest work of

[1] Saint-Gaudens says: "Mr. Burnham was extremely anxious that I should undertake the entire development of the sculpture of the Exposition. But this was entirely out of the question. I have deeply to regret that my direct relation to the sculpture I was forced to confine to the figure of Columbus in front of the entrance to the Administration Building, even there acting only in a purely advisory capacity. My pupil, Miss Mary Lawrence (now Mrs. François M. L. Tonetti), modelled and executed it, and to her goes all the credit of the virility and breadth of treatment which it revealed.

"Mr. Burnham arranged, however, that I should become a general adviser regarding the whole scheme. Under these conditions I suggested the making of the colossal statue of Liberty [The Republic] in the lagoon, by Daniel Chester French. The scheme for the peristyle opening out on the lake is also an enlargement on a far nobler scale, of a line of columns, each representing a State, which I suggested for that place, and which pleased Mr. Burnham greatly.

"The monumental fountain at the other end we also decided on at that time, and Mr. Burnham desired that I should execute it. For this fountain I had in mind one or two schemes. But in the consideration of calls on me I agreed to undertake it only on condition that I could be helped by MacMonnies. MacMonnies decided that he would rather not. I then urged that the execution be placed in his hands, and there was no other piece of work with which I have been associated as adviser that has approached this in the satisfaction it has given me. It seemed to fit absolutely with his temperament, with his appreciation of the joy of life, beauty, and happiness, and I consider his composition as a whole, and particularly the central motive of the boat, the rowing maidens, the young figure of America on top, the most beautiful conception of a fountain of modern times, west of the Caspian Mountains. It was the glorification of youth, cheerfulness, and the American spirit, and I think it is a calamity greatly to be deplored that it should have gone to ruin. It would have made a remarkable monument to that extraordinary exhibition." (*Reminiscences*, vol. II, p. 73.)

BUST FROM THE ADAMS MEMORIAL AT WASHINGTON BY AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS

sculpture in this country or of its generation anywhere.[1] One day Mr. Burnham was calling on Mr. Saint-Gaudens, and, while waiting for the sculptor to return, amused himself by piecing together some fragments lying on the floor and apparently dashed down in a moment of impatience over the result of the day's labors.[2] The puzzle took the form of the head for the Adams Monument, at which Mr. Burnham was gazing with awe and admiration when Mr. Saint-Gaudens entered. "So you care for it?" asked the reassured sculptor. "I'll put it together and have a cast made for you." And so he did — the only replica[3] of the work. There in the room that represented the perfect peace of home life stood the embodiment of the insistent question that runs through all the ages, pagan and Christian — if a man die shall he live again? In other and later works the sculptor has sought to give an answer to the unanswerable question; but in this he simply asks it, leaving to each one who approaches it his own answer.[4]

[1] "I know of no analogous work so profound in sentiment, so exalted in its art, and executed by methods so simple and broad, since the most telling sculpture of the Middle Ages. In me personally it awakens deeper emotion than any other modern work of art." (Gaston Migeon, in the Paris *Art and Decoration*, quoted in the *Reminiscences*, vol. I, p. 366.)

[2] "I've demolished the figure several times, and now it's all going at once." (*Reminiscences*, vol. I, p. 361.)

[3] After the sculptor's death Mr. Burnham had a copy of the replica made for Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, and Herbert Adams has the third and last.

[4] "He [Henry Adams] was apt to stop there often to see what the figure had to tell him that was new; but in all that it had to say, he never thought of questioning what it meant. He supposed its meaning to be the one commonplace about it — the oldest idea known to human thought . . . The interest of the figure was not in its meaning, but in the response of the observer. As Adams sat there numbers of people came . . . and all wanted to know its meaning. Most took it for a portrait statue . . . The only exceptions were the clergy, who taught a lesson even deeper. One after another brought companions there, and apparently fascinated by their own reflection, broke out passionately against the expression they felt in the figure of despair, of atheism, of denial. Like the others the priest saw only

Mr. Saint-Gaudens was a man of few words, but firm convictions. Silent and even reticent as to matters that did not concern his art, generous and appreciative in the case of honest and capable work, quick to discern ability and promise, he hated pretence and was impatient of mediocrity. These qualities made his judgments sure; so that where he led others might safely follow. Throughout the remainder of the sculptor's life Mr. Burnham relied on him for advice and counsel; and he was never disappointed.

Notwithstanding his reticence, Mr. Saint-Gaudens was one of the most companionable of men. He could express sympathy without words, whether in the consultation room or at table. When one tried to recall what he said, one was at a loss to remember more than an occasional pregnant sentence; but there was always the sense of companionship and good-fellowship. He let others do the talking, but afterwards one discovered that he had guided the conversation. The friendship between the two men was independent of time or space. Separation did not impair nor infrequency of meetings blunt it. It responded instantly to call. Indeed, the influence of Saint-Gaudens was abiding and permanent on Mr. Burnham, who was ever testing his own ideas by the criterion of how his friend would look at the problem. Saint-Gaudens counted his visits to the Fair among the happy experiences of his life. "The

what he brought. Like all great artists, Saint-Gaudens held up the mirror and no more. The American layman had lost sight of ideals; the American priest had lost sight of faith." (*The Education of Henry Adams*, p. 329.)

The interpretation in the text is one of several given to the author by Mr. Saint-Gaudens during a conversation on a subject he shunned talking about as Beethoven would have hesitated to talk about one of his symphonies, which speak their own language. Works of art are not to be confined by words; their appeal is directly to the emotions.

WASHINGTON: THE SENATE PARK COMMISSION PLAN, 1901; SHOWING, ON THE EAST TO WEST AXIS, THE CAPITOL GROUP AND UNION STATION (RIGHT), THE MALL LEADING TO THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT GARDENS (CENTRE), THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL AND THE MEMORIAL BRIDGE (LEFT); AND, ON THE NORTH TO SOUTH AXIS, THE WHITE HOUSE GROUP THE MONUMENT GARDENS, AND THE MEMORIAL TO THE MAKERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

A boulevard along the commercial water-front leads to the Army War College (lower centre). East Potomac Park (left centre) is under development as a play-park. From a rendering by Jules Guérin

days I passed there," he writes, "linger in the memory like a glorious dream, and it seems impossible that such a vision can ever be recalled in its poetic grandeur and elevation. Certainly it has stood far beyond any of the expositions, great as they have been, that have succeeded it."

Francis D. Millet — Frank Millet, as he was known the world around — was another man who at this time entered permanently into Mr. Burnham's affections. Mr. Millet had a genius for friendship. Probably there was no club in the world into which he could drop without finding a friend. Possessed of rare gifts as a painter and a writer, a drummer-boy in the Civil War and a correspondent of great London and American newspapers in the wars of the Near and Far East, democratic to the last degree and with a heart that vibrated in sympathy with every person in distress, ready to abandon instantly his own pursuits to aid one who needed help, Frank Millet was one of those rare men whose friendship is a great acquisition. There was no person however exalted and no person however humble who did not respond to his genial humor, always with a smack of the soil, or who could resist the charm of his shrewd, common-sense way of looking at things. He had a story and an experience for every occasion, and withal his modesty was so innate that he was never the hero — although often the victim — of his own narratives. His paintings have a place in many galleries on both sides of the Atlantic; but he never gave up to self what was meant for mankind. For that very reason he did not reach so high or so permanent a place in art as his abilities if fully cultivated, and his indefatigable industry, would have given him. So it is that he lived mainly, and highly, in the hearts of his friends.

It has already been told how he stepped into the breach to take up the work of decoration at the Fair. Another side of his versatile nature was evidenced when it became necessary to resort to all sorts of expedients to stimulate the gate-receipts brought low by the panic of 1893. He became director of publicity and with the aid of William E. Curtis got up fake attractions calculated to draw the crowd. With the Prince of Jolo as the centre, they held great reviews, where a regiment or two of soldiers were swelled into an army by marching them around and around the big buildings. Again they placed the dusky potentate on a barge filled with colored musicians from Clark Street and towed him and his improvised suite through the canals, so that all visitors might have a view of royalty. Then, too, these impromptu impresarios staged sanguinary combats among the denizens of the Midway, where bladderfuls of blood from the stockyards did service for the human gore seemingly shed in profusion. Curtis wrote letters to the Chicago papers protesting against these cruel and inhuman sports, falsely so called; and thereupon people flocked to see the barbaric encounters. Such were the dire straits to which the ebbing tide of visitors brought the publicity conspirators.

The Fair ended, Mr. Millet projected a record of the great achievement which should be in its way as fine as the Exposition itself. Colored illustrations, beautiful in design and execution, were arranged for and a number of them made; but the newly developed half-tone, made cheaply from the photograph, satisfied public taste, and enterprising publishers quickly occupied the field, making the venture unsuccessful. Mr. Burnham, from a sense of honor and not because of any real responsibility, took upon himself the loss — between twenty and thirty

CHARLES FOLLEN McKIM

thousand dollars — having to show for it only the few water-colors which found a place on the walls of his home.

Of all the friendships that grew out of these mind-expanding days, the one which had the greatest influence on Mr. Burnham's after work and achievement was the companionship of Charles F. McKim. One trait was common to the two men — an indomitable will. Burnham demanded perfection; McKim furnished it. McKim could and often did change Burnham's mind. No one ever changed McKim's mind; because he never expressed it until he had got at the essence of his problem. That being settled there could be no change. Constantly he would say, "You can compromise anything but the essence." [1] To him an architectural problem was a sum in arithmetic, an equation in algebra, a proposition in geometry; and as in mathematics he began by reducing the problem to its lowest terms. Again the problem was a statement to be expressed clearly, simply, directly, with every sentence grammatical in form, and the whole infused with the charm that comes from nice choice of words, balance of phrases, and only such ornament as is necessary to give grace as well as force.

McKim was not only unchangeable, but he was also insistent and persistent. Once his mind was made up as to the course to be pursued, he bent every energy to attain his object — and did not rest until his warfare was accomplished. Saint-Gaudens speaks [2] of his "rodent-like determination." So quiet, so per-

[1] This aphorism McKim would ascribe sometimes to Seth Low, sometimes to Elihu Root, and occasionally to John Cadwallader. It was his motto. Saint-Gaudens's motto was: "It does n't make much difference what you do; it's the way you do it that counts." Burnham's was: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free"; only he preferred to change the quotation to "set you free."

[2] *Reminiscences*, vol. II, p. 284.

suasive, so seemingly yielding, so courteous to suggestion was he that one was often deceived into thinking he was about to surrender, when in truth he was simply gathering his forces for a new attack. "Charles the Charmer" and "Blarney Charles" Saint-Gaudens called him, and rightly, for with clients he was the gentlest revolutionist that ever overthrew a dynasty of pretentious mediocrity and bad taste. His startling innovations were supported by apt illustration, pertinent similes and a quiet wit; executed work always left his client convinced. He was an expensive man to deal with; but the money went into the work, very little of it getting into his own pockets.[1] Whatever his hands turned out proved to be a work of art possessed of immortal charm. He had the gift of taking his conceptions out of the category of time and placing them among the works that belong to the ages. To know him, to be associated with him in daily intercourse over a common work of the largest, finest scope and character was a liberal education.

Into Burnham's life McKim came to fill the void left by John Root's death. Burnham was ready for the advance. Root was romantic, versatile, impressionable. He could never become a great musician, his teacher said, because he had too ready an ear. So in architecture he lacked discipline and conviction. He had never thought things through. On the contrary, McKim, born of martyrs for conscience' sake, educated in the best schools of the world, on money taken out of the meagre means of his self-denying father, fighting his way to success, not by yielding to popular fancy, but by bringing men

[1] After a life of work for the wealthiest of clients, he left a fortune of but $200,000, the life-use of which he gave to his daughter, naming the American Academy in Rome as his residuary legatee.

of means to realize the value of the things that endure, McKim came as an answer to all those strivings and longings which were latent in Burnham's nature.

Burnham was a Roman of the Augustinian age — a great builder, seeking self-expression in works of power and dignity and grandeur. So it was that when McKim, putting aside all other work, gave himself completely to the Fair, he worked so quietly, so persuasively, so insistently, that he became the guiding and controlling force. "He was my right-hand man," said Burnham, years later. Probably no one — not even McKim himself — realized at that time that the unobtrusive, modest, hesitant man had begun to build a firm foundation under the structure of American architecture, a foundation made up of materials gathered from the best of all ages, suited to the needs of a rich and powerful nation, and, best of all, used by the fathers of the Republic and so made a part of our great inheritance from them.[1] Small wonder is it that McKim from then on exercised a dominant influence on the career of Burnham, always avid for the enduring things.[2]

[1] "As a firm I am sure we were about the earliest exponents of the renaissance of the Colonial. In 1876, before Bigelow left the firm and while Stanford White was still with Richardson, we four men, McKim, Mead, Bigelow, and White, made what we always called our celebrated trip to New England, for the purpose of seeing and making drawings of the best examples of Colonial work. This trip included Marblehead, Salem, Newburyport and Portsmouth; and there are still in existence, in our scrapbook, drawings made on that trip. I think from that date we may be said to have been launched on our classic renaissance course, from which we have never swerved." (Letter from William R. Mead to the author, April 11, 1918.)

[2] To McKim Burnham wrote on January 11, 1893:

"*My dear Charles:* Again I thank you for happy memories. So many cluster round your loved name in my mind now, I cannot commence to count them. You reserve nothing; but all comes to your friend,

"D. H. BURNHAM."

There was one quality that all these friends possessed in common — joy in living. Through them all — Thomas, Saint-Gaudens, Millet, McKim, Burnham — ran the pagan strain characteristic of the artist. No matter what their ancestry, they had none of the austerity of the Puritan. They realized the richness and beauty of life. They used the wealth of clients to promote the joyousness and fineness of living. They rose above the trammels and sordidness of material things and lived in the realm of the spirit. To them the amenities of life were worth seeking first of all. To them the Chicago Fair was an opportunity to express their feelings to the world, and they used it to the full — and with great success.

THEODORE THOMAS

CHAPTER VI

RECOGNITION

IN recognition of the great benefit to architecture, sculpture, and painting that had resulted from his connection with the World's Columbian Exposition — so the invitation read — Mr. Burnham's fellow-architects and the citizens of New York gave a dinner on March 25, 1893. The dinner meant that New York, although balked in its desire to have the Fair located in that city, determined to give to the Chicago project, then approaching completion, whole-hearted and enthusiastic support.

It was a very different-minded gathering from the one Mr. Burnham had entertained two years before, when he pleaded with the New York architects to give their coöperation and support, thereby seizing the opportunity to do a great service to the Nation and at the same time advance the cause of art in America. That moment was selected when the artistic success of the Fair was assured: the artists had finished their work and knew it was good; before the gates were opened to the public they assembled to give recognition to the achievement and to the men who brought about the seemingly impossible by making the desert shores of Lake Michigan blossom with a supreme conquest over nature and all material obstacles; and, what was still more notable, by securing the coöperation and thorough team-work of the artists of America.

Hidden in the crowd at the lower tables were Charles McKim, Frank Millet, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens, who, with

Mr. Howland and Mr. Carey, planned and arranged the dinner, and who quietly enjoyed their handiwork. The report printed in the "New York Tribune" reproduced the spirit of the occasion, where the flow of humor gave a life and vivacity quite unusual in testimonials.

Upon Mr. Burnham [the report says] has devolved a great degree of responsibility during the last three years. His methods have been characterized by superlative coolness and directness of purpose. Under his guiding hand have arisen that cluster of buildings on the shore of Lake Michigan which, in their completed state, will be a surprise to the art critics of two hemispheres.

The testimonial, as all will admit, was most appropriately bestowed. Those who witnessed the scene in the Madison Square Concert Hall last evening will testify that no honor was ever more modestly received.

It was a distinguished assemblage of men who joined in doing honor to the guest of the evening. At the main table were Richard M. Hunt, who presided; Charles Eliot Norton, Joseph H. Choate, William Lindsay, Lyman J. Gage, Henry E. Howland, Charles Dudley Warner, J. S. Norton, William D. Howells, Marshall Field, General Horace Porter, Abram S. Hewitt, Commodore Henry Erben, Ferdinand W. Peck, Henry Villard, Herbert W. Ladd, Dr. David H. Greer, Parke Godwin, Daniel C. Gilman, William R. Ware, Henry G. Marquand, ex-Senator Warner Miller, and J. Seaver Page.[1]

[1] At the other tables were: James W. Alexander, Francis R. Appleton, William W. Appleton, D. Maitland Armstrong, E. Ellery Anderson, Gorton W. Allen, Thomas Allen, Edwin B. Adams, Charles T. Barney, Charles C. Beaman, Edwin H. Blashfield, William Bispham, Cornelius N. Bliss, Edward C. Boardman, Edwin Booth, J. G. Brown, Robert W. Brown, William T. Bull, Prescott Hall Butler, Howard Russell Butler, Peter T. Barlow, John E. Brooks, Clarence Clough Buel, William C. Brownell, Noah Brooks, H. C. Bunner, Edward Burnett, Joseph B. Bishop, Charles I. Berg, A. T. Cabot, John L. Cadwallader, J. Cleveland Cady, Henry W. Cannon, William Carey, Edward Cary, Charles F. Chichester, William C. Church, Thomas B. Clarke, William F. Clarke, Charles W. Clinton, William A.

The room was handsomely decorated on the floor with all that was green, and in the galleries by all that was beautiful, as the ladies who occupied the boxes will understand. The main table was across the front of the stage. Back of this was a cluster of palms, behind which was the orchestra. And the music, soft and sweet and beautiful, came out of the palms. In front of the chairman was a large cluster of American

Coffin, Beverly Chew, Walter Damrosch, Melville C. Day, William E. Dodge, Alexander W. Drake, L. Clarke Davis, Paul Dana, John Du Fais, James H. Dunham, Reginald DeKoven, F. W. Devoe, James W. Ellsworth, F. E. Elwell, Joe Evans, William T. Evans, Allen W. Evarts, Loyall Farragut, Alphonse Fetley, Daniel C. French, Charles H. Farnham, Charles Gordon Fuller, R. Swain Gifford, Richard Watson Gilder, Daniel C. Gilman, E. L. Godkin, Charles W. Gould, Lloyd McK. Garrison, Plunkett Greene, Elmer E. Garnsey, William C. Gibson, William C. Hall, H. J. Hardenbergh, J. Henry Harper, John Harper, George H. Hazen, Peter Cooper Hewitt, James J. Higginson, Charles Hitchcock, George Hitchcock, Ripley Hitchcock, Thomas Hovenden, Henry L. Higginson, Louis M. Howland, John E. Hudson, Joseph Howland Hunt, Daniel Huntington, Charles L. Hutchinson, Benoni Irwin, Joseph Jefferson, W. L. B. Jenney, Eastman Johnson, Robert U. Johnson, Francis C. Jones, H. Bolton Jones, Arthur W. Jones, A. W. Kingman, David H. King, Jr., John La Farge, George M. Lane, Francis Lathrop, Will H. Low, Forbes Leith, Warrington G. Lawrence, Charles R. Lamb, Charles F. McKim, Henry R. Marshall, Charles B. MacDonald, William R. Mead, George von L. Meyer, Brander Matthews, Willard Metcalf, Hoffman Miller, Francis D. Millet, Alfred Bishop Mason, Joseph B. Millet, Percy S. Mallett, Montagu Marks, T. F. Miller, Charles V. Mapes, Delancy Nicoll, Daniel S. Newhall, Thomas Newbold, Frederick Law Olmsted, Stephen H. Olin, Walter G. Oakman, Robert S. Peabody, Bruce Price, Alfred Parsons, Wheeler H. Peckham, James W. Pinchot, Henry W. Poor, A. P. Proctor, William R. Richards, Daniel G. Rollins, Horace Russell, the Rev. Dr. William R. Rainsford, Charles S. Reinhart, George L. Rives, Robert H. Robertson, Charles A. Rich, Richard K. Sheldon, John J. Sinclair, Samuel Spencer, John G. Stearns, Edmund C. Stedman, Henry B. Stone, Albert Stickney, Philip Schaff, Edward Schell, Jacob H. Schiff, Charles Scribner, Frank H. Scott, James A. Scrymser, Walter Shirlaw, E. K. Sibley, Edward E. Simmons, William T. Smedley, F. Hopkinson Smith, Francis Lynde Stetson, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Horace E. Scudder, William A. Stiles, William B. Tuthill, Hamilton McK. Twombly, Frank Thomson, A. H. Thorp, Abbott H. Thayer, Louis C. Tiffany, Charles W. Truslow, Frederick C. Thomas, Walter Trimble, John R. Thomas, Henry R. Towne, Henry Van Brunt, Edward C. Waller, William R. Ware, William Walton, J. Alden Weir, Edmund Wetmore, Horace White, Thomas W. Wood, Sir Henry Trueman Wood, Olin H. Warner, Willard P. Ward, P. A. B. Widener, and C. B. Worthington.

Beauty roses. It was observed that Mr. Burnham blushed several times during the evening, though he has only recently come from Chicago. Some thought that the glow in his face was reflected from the cluster of roses which stood before him. But it was never intimated that he knew what the artificial rosebush had in store for him.

Mr. Hunt started the speech-making. He said many pleasant things of the guest. Then he caused the veneer rosebush to be removed and there stood a loving-cup with the capacity of a whole gallon, and with three handles to support its conveyance to the lips. It was empty when it was offered to Mr. Burnham, but with true American shrewdness he proceeded to make the best of his bargain, and seizing a filled bottle of claret from a neighbor, he poured the liquid into the vessel, took a drink, and passed it to Mr. Hunt. It was pleasant to note the eagerness with which Joseph H. Choate, Lyman J. Gage, and General Horace Porter reached forward, each to find a place on one of the three handles of that loving-cup. The contents were exhausted when this trio was ready to part with it. Then some one poured into it a quart bottle of champagne and it was started in the direction of Mr. Howland, Mr. Villard, and ex-Senator Miller, who looked into the empty cup and pronounced the metal solid and pure, for that was all there was left for him to pass judgment upon.

Mr. Burnham then arose and spoke, in part as follows: "Could I accept the honor bestowed upon me as if intended for myself alone, I would be most unworthy of it. The names of you who greet me to-night are known to all your countrymen; many of them are household words. You mould and direct the higher purposes of American life. You have called me here to stamp some acts of mine with approval. I am glad to come; it opens the door for me to tell you that the artistic glory of the Exposition belongs to my brethren in architecture, sculpture and painting. While I deeply feel this honor and thank you for it, my friends and I have come to bear testimony that the teachings of our fathers were not in vain, and that their sons still justify the hope of their ancestors at the foundation of the

THE LOVING-CUP PRESENTED TO MR BURNHAM AT THE NEW YORK DINNER
From a design for the programme of toasts, by Edwin Howland Blashfield

Republic. I feel that undue prominence has been given to the mere quickness with which the Exposition has been built. That is not for me the most admirable feature of the enterprise, for in the last decade or two one could go out on the streets of a great city and collect a force of engineers and draughtsmen very much as formerly he hired mechanics. The times have multiplied the corps of trained technical men and we can now in months do the former work of years.

"The space of time in which a great work can now be accomplished is not marvellous. Brain, muscle, materials, and the means of rapid transport are instantly at command. If one has capital and a well-considered plan, the thing does itself. But that which is wonderful and which I can scarcely believe, although I have been in the midst of it, is the noble, artistic result which has come from the work of American artists who have had only a few months' time to prepare those very designs for the great buildings of the Exposition which have actually been executed with little change from the sketches which were presented in February, 1891.

"Called together as they were, with scarcely a warning, under the stress of immediate need, given but thirty days to settle the elements of the work, these men on the day appointed brought in the completed designs of the structures as they stand to-day. No one would have believed that so high a quality of art, so magnificent a general result, could have come out of such haste, even if the masters of the past had been revivified to do the work. Was it an inspiration? I think it was, and I ascribe it to the possession of those deep lessons of our youth, implanted by the old-fashioned teachings of our fathers about self-sacrifice and duty. In these principles remained the inspiration that made men conform like brothers and harmonize their work; and in the fire of such feeling their natures were welded into an instrument for the common honor and glory of our country.

"Their temper has not changed in the two years past. They have vied with each other for a common result which, as individuals they have subordinated themselves to bring about; in

short, they have been what all Americans should be in public matters — unselfish. (Applause.) You know who these men are. They sit with you to-night. Each of you knows the name and genius of him who stands first in the heart and confidence of American artists, the creator of your own parks and many other city parks. (Applause.) He it is who has been our best adviser and our common mentor. In the highest sense he is the planner of the Exposition — Frederick Law Olmsted. (Applause.) No word of his has fallen to the ground among us since first he joined us some thirty months ago. An artist, he paints with lakes and wooded slopes; with lawns and banks and forest-covered hills; with mountain-sides and ocean views. He should stand where I do to-night, not for his deeds of later years alone, but for what his brain has wrought and his pen has taught for half a century.

"There were two others in the morning of this work; one was Root, my beloved partner (applause) who fell just when his busy hands had shaped a plan which we have followed ever since; then Codman passed away, but until we also go, they will dwell with us; their shining faces scarce out of sight; their noble voices still ringing in the ears of our souls.

"I find myself using the words noble and unselfish when I speak of each of those who wrought with me. I must go on with this. I can find no other fitting adjectives for the corps. Hunt, its chairman (applause), deeply trained in the knowledge of our art; and its great exemplars, Post, Peabody, Van Brunt, Sullivan, Whitehouse, Jenney, Beaman, Cobb, Atwood — and Charles McKim, our critic, counsellor and friend; Saint-Gaudens, and Frank Millet. (Applause.) How one loves to speak your names! Architects, painters, and sculptors of my country! How proud we are of you! What can express the deep sense of obligation we are under for your old-fashioned devotion to the country; for this victory of peace? If then, you place upon my acts the stamp of your approval, I accept the honor with humility, and I will cherish this cup as a souvenir to recall not alone the happy night when I sat among you, but also the day when so many American artists joined together in loving

emulation and created an epoch, and when their deeds illuminated me."

At the close of Mr. Burnham's speech there was great applause, equal to that which had resulted from an intermediate series of stereopticon illustrations of the buildings in Jackson Park, to which Mr. Burnham's portrait had served as a period.

In response to the toast of Chicago, a brilliant speech was made by James S. Norton, of that city, who spoke as follows:

"Nothing could be more gratifying to a Chicago man than this noble tribute to Mr. Burnham; and not merely because he belongs to Chicago, and she is proud of him, but because, also, the work which he has done so well, and which now elicits your admiration, is largely her work. You cannot honor him beyond his just deserts; and you will not spoil him by your approbation. It may be said of him, as was said of another, that he has earned his fame by the arduous greatness of things done; and such men are not stultified by applause. It never did hurt a Daniel to be lionized.[1] (Laughter and applause.) And in honoring him you testify your appreciation of that liberal spirit which has permitted him to enlist in the great work over which he has presided, without regard to local pride or sectional jealousies, the men who best express the constructive and artistic genius of the age. Those marvellous palaces which, untenanted, would justify a convocation of the nations, are monuments not only to the skill of architect and artist, but also to the bold spirit and clear prevision of the men who dared to set the scale of such a work. (Applause.)

"This is, indeed, a new sensation for Chicago. Hitherto she has received from this quarter full recognition of her claims as a pork, beef, and grain market, and scant courtesy to her aspirations for art and culture. That now, in this city of ac-

[1] The sentiment printed on the programme — evidently the conceit of Mr. Hunt — was: "A director of faith is good; but since faith without works is dead, a Director of Works is better. The Daniel who now comes to judgment may safely be lionized."

complishments, her chosen representative should receive the plaudits of the very elect for his services to art, is at least a sweet surprise. (Applause.)

"But this makes easy and agreeable the duty which is assigned to me. I come, in the friendliest mood, to offer consolation for any disappointment which may have resulted from the location of the Fair. (Laughter.) If you will kindly recall the spirited controversy over that question, you will remember that New York signified a willingness. She did not really want the Fair, of course — for she has said so since — but she certainly assumed a wistful expression; and when the matter was settled she did not see the hand of Providence in it, and had her doubts about the wisdom of the choice — doubts which she did not regard as confidential. (Laughter.) Chicago, of course, was elated. She was a good deal smaller then, and it pleased her to be treated as a large city; and she swelled up and said the size of the job was quite immaterial; and now, like the man who won the elephant in the raffle, she rejoices that it is no bigger. (Laughter.)

. . . . . .

"And that recalls me to my theme. Just think of the expectant hosts that will descend upon that city. We don't mind the New-Yorkers so much, for they won't expect anything of us (laughter), and the slightest trace of gentility will give them a pleasant surprise. They will look to find our streets paved with good intentions, and ordinary mud will be a relief to them. But what will Boston say — Boston who writes to us by way of Albany, that she is disappointed in New York? (Laughter.) And Philadelphia who once had a little trouble of her own — what won't she say? And then suppose we have a flock of crowned heads from over the water. You would not mind such a thing at all. You are accustomed to treat princes and potentates with an easy condescension that fascinates them; but we are lowly born and bashful (laughter); and while we sympathize with kings and queens and mean to treat them 'square,' we lack the tact which enables you to check undue familiarity with a club. (Laughter.)

LIST OF GUESTS AT THE NEW YORK DINNER ETCHED ON THE BOTTOM OF LOVING-CUP PRESENTED TO DANIEL H. BURNHAM

Designed by Charles F. McKim

"But above all, New York is to be congratulated upon a rare opportunity to show the greatness of her soul. She is our foremost city. Even excluding New Jersey and Long Island, she is still one of the two largest cities in the country. (Laughter and applause.) She is the pride of the whole Nation, and, by the way, she is not so stupid as to be wholly unconscious of her own superiority. Even Rome, in all her glory, with sevenfold her opportunity, did not surpass her. She sat upon her seven hills and never hatched a President. (Laughter.)

"It has been said that New York is insular, self-centered, indifferent to all things off the island. Will it appear so in the coming season of national pride and patriotic effort? This gathering to-night and the words spoken here go far to reassure us. It is Chicago's misfortune that no matter how unselfishly she may strive for the success of the Fair, half the world will find her motives wholly mercenary. It is New York's good fortune that her help and sympathy cannot be misinterpreted. (Applause.) Let me commend this thought to you; and let me add that with a view to your future happiness we cordially invite you to be good to us. It is not merely that we need your practical aid for the Fair — of course we need that — but that the men who have sacrificed so much in the cause that is your cause and that of every citizen should have a generous support. (Applause.) I do not speak by their authority. They are not asking for commendation; but they would be strange men not to be stimulated by your appreciation and grateful for a hand outstretched in kindliness. (Applause.)

"And you have this further consolation, that you have escaped the dust and din of preparation, and will first see the Fair complete. It will be a sudden, full sensation. You will see in all its finished beauty what poets and artists have vaguely dreamed, and in that sight will be a revelation of the real sublimity of man's conceptions and the possible majesty of his handiwork. I care not in what spirit you may come. Bring but the common sentiment of men, and that first view will print a picture on your memories that time will not efface. (Applause.)

"And then, too, you will see Chicago — the most interesting city in the world to one who studies the evolution of cities. Elsewhere the phases of development have succeeded each other too slowly to be noted except in part through the imperfect medium of history. There the changes have come so rapidly within the field of view that the entire process may be seen. The whole marvellous transformation from the trading-post to the chosen theatre of a world's pageant has come within the range of single lives yet far from spent. (Applause.) We look back to find the origin and explanation of Chicago in those forces which fixed the natural highways of a vast and fertile territory. We see her now, a field of prodigious activities, a marvel of brilliant achievement, a turbulent school of sociology. It has fallen to this generation to see the elements of society in violent agitation; and just now the storm-centre seems to be over Chicago. What the result may be let him declare who knows the scope of wisdom and the limitations of folly. We only know that in that city men are being moulded by the pressure of events; that the incessant urgency of life, adding each day a little to the task of yesterday, a little also to the strength of yesterday, is breeding a race of men fit for responsibilities; and that the same energy which has made her in half a century a great spectacular city, is now surely tending toward the better purpose of her life." (Long-continued applause.)

Professor Charles Eliot Norton, who spoke for Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, created the surprise of the evening. That the "belated Grecian," as Charles Dudley Warner facetiously referred to him, should have found so much to commend in the Chicago work, was regarded as a veritable triumph. He called it the height of the attainment of American artists. "The general design of the grounds and of the arrangement of the buildings was in every respect noble, original and satisfactory, a work of a fine art not generally included in the list

of poetic arts, but one of the most important of them all to America — that of the landscape architect. Of all American artists, Frederick Law Olmsted, who gave the design for the laying out of the grounds of the World's Fair, stands first in the production of great works which answer the needs and give expression to the life of our immense and miscellaneous democracy. The buildings which surround the Court of Honor, so-called, at Chicago, make a splendid display of monumental architecture. They show how well our ablest architects have studied the work of the past; and the arrangement of the buildings according to the general plan produces a superb effect in the successful grouping in harmonious relations of vast and magnificent structures." [1]

The other toasts were: "The White City," by Richard Watson Gilder; "Columbus," by Charles Dudley Warner; "Our Country," by William Lindsay; "The Exposition," by Lyman J. Gage; "New York," by Horace Porter; "The Rest of the World," by Joseph H. Choate.

President Cleveland by letter expressed his regret that the pressure of public business rendered it impossible for him to

[1] Professor Norton's admiration of the Fair was so outspoken at various times as to start the rumor that he intended to forsake Shady Hill in Cambridge and remove to the Windy City. "Unthinking optimism and self-willed pessimism," says a Cambridge newspaper, "tossed the rumor back and forth." When appealed to, Mr. Norton said the rumor grew out of his saying to William James that if he were a younger man he should like to cast his lot in with a city like Chicago. Then he said with conviction: "I like Chicago. I like the spirit, the civic power of the place."

After praising Mr. Atwood's peristyle and art building, and Mr. Olmsted's landscape work, he "said more for Mr. Burnham's personal honor than the modest Director of Works would have believed he or any other Chicago man could win from the Harvard professor who is popularly reputed to admire nothing modern, not even the modern man. But to Mr. Norton the civic enthusiasm and success of Chicago seem to be embodied in Mr. Burnham."

accept the committee's invitation, and added that "he would be glad to emphasize, by his presence, his own appreciation of Mr. Burnham's services, were it possible."

During the first part of the dinner, Mr. Burnham was very much impressed with William D. Howells, the novelist. "All you said of him in Boston," he wrote to Mr. Norton, "came back to me. I fear he thought me rude, because I used my short time well in looking him over; but even if he did, it pays me well. I never before saw just such a face, and everything about the man at once fitted into my way of thinking and liking. His face is beautiful."

So ended the first occasion in the history of this country when a member of one of the artistic professions was publicly honored. Thereafter honors came thick and fast. In April, McKim wrote that the New York friends wanted him to become a non-resident member of the Century Club, that Mecca for the men who have arrived in art, literature, and the things that thereto pertain — an invitation which he accepted, continuing his membership so long as he lived. McKim further announced: "You will be glad to know that Yale intends to give you a scientific degree of value (through Judge Howland) and Harvard one in the arts, in the present year. So that we shall hope to see you in the East before the season is far advanced."

These degrees were conferred at the June commencements. It is interesting to note that the two colleges which Mr. Burnham as a boy failed in his endeavor to enter were the first to recognize his achievements.

The twenty-seventh annual convention of the American Institute of Architects, held at Chicago in July, 1893, in the

THE COURT OF HONOR, CHICAGO WORLD'S FAIR

midst of the Fair, elected Mr. Burnham president, the fifth in the succession.[1]

[1] The succession was: 1857–76, Richard Upjohn, New York; 1877–87, Thomas U. Walter, Philadelphia; 1888–91, Richard M. Hunt, New York; 1892–93, Edward H. Kendall, New York; 1894–95, Daniel H. Burnham, Chicago.

CHAPTER VII

PICKING UP THE THREADS

1894–1895

WHEN the Fair closed in the autumn of 1893, and Mr. Burnham started to reëstablish his private office, the country was in the midst of a financial panic which slowed down business, although certain men of large means came to realize that improved real estate was the surest investment and began to act accordingly. The salary he had received did not pay his living expenses, and, with the liability of the uncompleted book of the Exposition, he found himself in debt.

First he set about constituting the new firm of D. H. Burnham & Co., taking as partners Ernest R. Graham, who had been his assistant chief of construction, a man of immense energy and all-around capacity; E. C. Shankland, Chief Engineer of the Fair, a reliable man capable of hard work; and Charles Atwood, for whose ability and brilliancy as a designer he had unbounded admiration. These men were to have a share in the profits, but the management of the business Mr. Burnham kept wholly in his own hands. He also retained control of his own time, for he foresaw the demands that outside work, such as the presidency of the Institute, would make upon him, and he was disposed to invite rather than repel public service. The great asset of the firm was Mr. Burnham's reputation as the best-known architect in America.[1]

[1] Mr. Atwood had control, under Mr. Burnham, of all artistic matters appertaining to the business, including making designs; Mr. Graham had

After the Fair, as before it, Mr. Burnham's firm was employed largely with commercial structures; that is, with a class of buildings in which the American architect has achieved his greatest distinction, and thereby has made both his most serious claim to originality and also his most notable contribution to the history of architecture. The measure of success in the case of the individual architect must be the completeness with which he has solved the problem of utility combined with agreeableness of presentation. At all hazards he must solve his problem if he is to continue to be employed. After that the question will be as to how far he can control his client in making the design lastingly satisfactory to the trained eye and understanding. Mr. Burnham had a positive genius for contriving a great commercial structure, whether retail store, office building, or railway station, in such manner as to yield revenue, be economical in operation, and have enduring qualities. This was his own personal, distinct contribution which he shared

supervision and control of the employees, and in general acted as Mr. Burnham's representative in his absence. Mr. Shankland supervised the designs, the specifications and the execution of constructive work. Mr. Atwood received 27 per cent of the profits and Mr. Graham and Mr. Shankland each received 10 per cent. Mr. Burnham reserved the right to act as promoter of buildings and other enterprises and to receive the profits arising therefrom.

These profits often were large. In 1894 one such arrangement involved a total outlay of $3,300,000, of which sum $1,600,000 was borrowed on mortgage from one of the largest New York insurance companies. A stock company was formed, and in addition to architectural fees of $85,000 for the firm, Mr. Burnham personally received $40,000 in stock for his services in supervising and carrying through the negotiations. In New York building operations he was associated with such financiers as August Belmont, Charles Flint, and Charles T. Barney.

Mr. Atwood withdrew December 10, 1895; Mr. Shankland withdrew January 1, 1900. After the latter date the two remaining partners divided the profits on the basis of 6 to 4. On January 1, 1910, Hubert and Daniel H. Burnham, Jr., were admitted to the firm. Beginning in 1908, Pierce Anderson received a share of the profits in addition to his salary.

with no one in his firm. Beyond this he had a feeling for all those elements which tend to lift a structure out of the category of mere profit-yielders, and make it an ornament to a city. He could visualize the form which a building should take; then he had the ability to bring most clients to his way of thinking; and afterwards he could command the talent necessary to achieve the results both in the matter of engineering and also of design. He came out of the Fair and his association with fellow-artists with a training, previously lacking, in taste and in the fundamental principles of architecture.

James W. Ellsworth's testimony is to the point: "It was questioned by many whether the loss of Mr. Root was not irreparable. Mr. Root's death brought out qualities in Mr. Burnham which might not have developed, at least not so early, had Mr. Root lived. Previously Mr. Burnham was supposed to attend more to the business side, and Mr. Root to the artistic. My idea is that on the artistic side Mr. Burnham did lean more or less on Mr. Root. After the latter's death, however, one would never realize anything of this kind, or ever know from Mr. Burnham's actions that he ever possessed a partner, or did not command in both directions."

Mr. Atwood, who was expected to fill the place left vacant by Mr. Root's death, lacked certain qualities needed for success in commercial undertakings. Born in Millbury, Massachusetts, educated at the Lawrence Scientific School, Harvard University, his architectural studies began in the Boston office of Ware & Van Brunt, a firm made up of Professor William R. Ware and Henry Van Brunt, men both scholarly and critical. In 1875, after three years of private practice, Mr. Atwood was drawn into the service of Christian H. Herter (the firm

CHARLES ATWOOD
From a caricature by Simmons

was Herter Brothers, furnishers and decorators) who had been commissioned by William H. Vanderbilt to build the double-houses at 660 Fifth Avenue. Mr. Atwood designed these houses and also several others for members of the Vanderbilt family, and afterwards spent several years in work on the estate of Mrs. Mark Hopkins at Great Barrington. Trained in the school of classic design, he was interested primarily in monumental works; and although occasionally he made excursions into other fields, he was most successful when he worked in Greek forms and with Greek feeling. His design for enlarging the City Hall in New York (prepared in less than twenty-four hours and based on studies made casually years before) was pronounced superior to that of any other competitor; and for it he received a special prize. Mr. Burnham admired this design beyond even his power of expression; while he also gave whole-hearted approval to Mr. Saint-Gaudens's opinion that Mr. Atwood's Art Building at the Fair had been unequalled since the Parthenon.[1]

While with D. H. Burnham & Co. he designed the Ellicott Building in Buffalo; but during the last two years of his connection with the firm, the condition of his health made steady, concentrated work impossible, although his mind was occupied with architectural problems. Tall, slender, of elegant figure and bearing, with a head remarkable for its beauty, with gray, lustrous eyes, a voice with rare charm and a diction that completed the spell, Atwood gradually changed from one of the most companionable of men and became a recluse. At the age of forty-six, with the greatest possibilities before him, and after

[1] MS. of D. H. B. on the life and work of Charles B. Atwood. See also *American Architect*, December 28, 1895.

having given up a position in which he was free to work out his conceptions without financial worries, he succumbed to his only enemy—himself. He died in Chicago in December, 1895.

It is difficult now to realize the change that came over American architecture as the result of the Chicago Fair. Nor is it possible to estimate the relative value of the influences that were at work to bring about this change. From the East came men like Charles Eliot Norton, who had been preaching the pessimistic gospel of the "saving remnant," and who saw a vision. If such things were possible in Chicago, there was yet hope for a country steeped in commercialism, crude in manners, and brutal in the use of sudden wealth. He rejoiced that he had lived to see the day dawn in his own beloved country, when architect, sculptor, painter, and landscape architect could be brought to labor together to produce results that recalled, in spirit at least, those triumphs of the Middle Ages, when all the talents of a community united to produce results which expressed civic consciousness realizing itself in works of enduring nobility and beauty. In a letter to Henry B. Fuller, chiding him for the pessimism that permeates "The Cliff Dwellers," Mr. Norton said: "I think you should have sympathetic admiration, nay, even affection, for the ideal Chicago which exists not only in the brain, but in the heart of some of her citizens. I have never seen Americans from whom one could draw happier auguries for the future of America, than some of the men whom I saw at Chicago. The Fair, in spite of its amazing incongruities, and its immense 'border' of vulgarities, was on the whole a great promise, even a great pledge. It, at least, forbids despair." [1]

[1] *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. II, p. 216.

Mr. Norton, in a lecture on "Art in America," recorded his matured impressions of the Fair. Quoting with commendation an article by Peter B. Wight that had recently appeared in the "Inland Architect," he said:

Not one of those great façades was an expression of the plan, construction or purpose of the building behind it. The buildings were simply masked by full-sized models of decorative walls. They were intended for scenic effect; they were magnificent decorative pieces. They were architecture only in this sense, and in this sense they were worthy of the warmest admiration. They expressed the wealth, the ingenuity, the practical capacity of the people; but they were not the poetic creations in which the vital spirit of a nation expressed itself by means of noble organic structures vitalized by its own superabundant life.

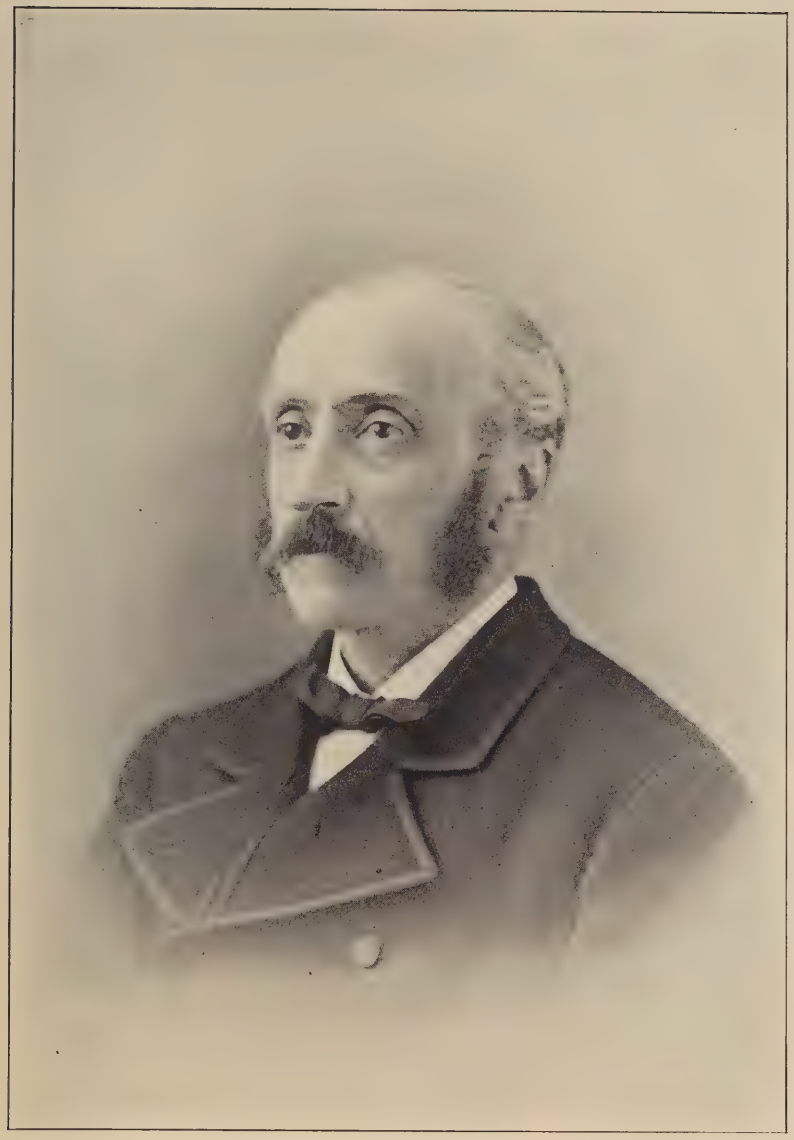
Their mere externality, their essential unreality, were emphasized not only in their design and the material used in their construction, but by the degrading accessories which were allowed, for the sake of the profit to be made from them, to intrude themselves into the closest relation with the fine edifices upon the very Court of Honor itself; while outside the Court of Honor the multitude of State buildings gave witness of the lack of harmony and of union in the States, in their failure to adopt a common scheme, as well as to a general lack of taste and of imagination in the designers employed by many of the States to construct the buildings which were to represent the dignity and interests of the separate Commonwealths.

The great Fair was indeed a superb and appropriate symbol of our great nation, in its noble general design and in the inequalities of its execution; in its unexampled display of industrial energy and practical capacity; in the absence of the higher works of the creative imagination; in its incongruities, its mingling of noble realities and ignoble pretences, in its refinements cheek-by-jowl with vulgarities, in its order and its confusion — in its heterogeneousness and in its unity.

Here was the United States on show, both in its real aspects and in its potentialities. It was an exhilarating spectacle, far too vast to be comprehended in a single glance, far too varied and complicated to be of easy interpretation. It was full of material promise. Was it full also of spiritual promise? Did the way through it lead to the Celestial City? Was it, indeed, but the type and promise of the New Jerusalem, or was it rather like the great city of the Book of Revelation, full of "the merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men"?

No spirit of prophecy reveals the answer to this question. It will be answered only as the course of years rolls on. If the heterogeneous millions of American people rise slowly to the height of their unexampled opportunities; if gradually they become unified in sentiment, with common ideals of noble national existence; if mastering the materializing influences of their present conditions, they assimilate the elements of material prosperity so as to make them contribute to spiritual growth; if they turn the products of the understanding into nutriment for the reason and the imagination — then we may be sure that the bare prose of our actual days will blossom into poetry, and the life of the nation find natural expression in an art which shall be a fresh revelation of the highest powers of the human spirit, and in which the beauty of those new ideals of society which lie as yet vague and shapeless in the heart of our democracy shall be embodied in forms of enduring delight and inspiration.

But this is not for us. We are on the top of Pisgah; the promised land lies before us, but we shall not go over thither; we lift up our eyes westward and northward and southward and eastward, and behold it with our eyes, but we shall not go over this Jordan; we can only charge our children, and encourage them,



CHARLES ELIOT NORTON
1878

and strengthen them, that they may go over and inherit the good land which we see beyond.[1]

These characteristic words of Mr. Norton, that pessimistic optimist, written in 1898, are to be taken in view of what has happened in the twenty-two succeeding years. No one realized better than Mr. Burnham that the Fair was not so much a final accomplishment as a training for further work along the lines laid down by Mr. Norton. The White City was indeed a dream, having elements of truth and yet filled with all manner of inconsistencies and unsubstantialities. But the improvement of the city of Washington, the plans of Cleveland and San Francisco, and Manila, the creation of Baguio, and the stupendous plan of Chicago, all are further stations on the steep ascent of Pisgah. No critic knows so well as does the worker the difficulties, the disappointments, and the shortcomings of his own work. On an architect's tomb in the Pantheon at Rome is this epitaph: "He did nothing that wholly satisfied him." All that a sincere worker can do is to lay foundations on which those who come after him may build. Every one achievement opens ten opportunities. For him the Promised Land ever recedes. So we shall find it was with Mr. Burnham's life; but no one can say truthfully that his eyes were not lifted to the westward and northward and southward and eastward, or that there was any but the farthest horizon to the land he descried.

President Charles W. Eliot, with the stern optimism engendered by years of successful struggle to change bad conditions to better ones, rejoiced in the Chicago Fair as an accomplishment which gave every promise of promoting throughout the land

[1] "Art in America"; a lecture, by Professor Charles Eliot Norton. Manuscript in possession of Miss Sara Norton.

what he called the permanent satisfactions of life. The appeal to the finer and higher instincts in human nature had been made on a grand scale and in a convincing manner. Both he and Mr. Norton were quick to recognize and to honor the leader in this movement. They became Mr. Burnham's personal friends, and shaping influences in his life. President Eliot's personal contribution to the Fair was a series of inscriptions on the Water-Gate prepared at Mr. Burnham's request, some of which he wrote and others he selected. Among those selected was the text from Saint Paul, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free," a sentence so often on Mr. Burnham's tongue that it might well be taken as the motto of his life.[1]

To the artists of America the Fair meant the public recognition of their work in conjunction one with another. Standards of achievement and taste had been created. Eclecticism and freakishness, falsely called originality, had been discredited; and the treasure-houses of the past opened doors long closed to Americans, because never attempted. Suddenly we became heirs to untold riches in art. Young architects trained at the Beaux Arts found receptive clients where they had feared to encounter opposition. They no longer spoke a foreign language, but made their appeals to understanding ears. And then it was discovered that much of what then seemed new and unaccustomed was but a return to early days, when the traditions of Sir Christopher Wren had been followed in the colonial architecture of America by builders who by no means changed their natures when they changed their skies. So they eagerly

[1] *American Contributions to Civilization*, by Charles William Eliot, LL.D. (New York: The Century Co. 1897), p. 383.

sought in the colonial architecture of the Atlantic seaboard precedents to which they appealed not in vain. And more careful study revealed the encouraging fact that in planning the earliest public buildings of the new republic, Washington and Jefferson had insisted on classic precedents. So that in the last analysis the new movement was but a return to our better selves.

All these influences were at work in Mr. Burnham's mind to change and direct the course of his thought. But he never allowed himself to forget that to an architect the solution of his problem is the chief consideration; and that clients do not employ architects primarily to create works of art. His concern was mainly with commercial buildings, in which a return on the investment was of first consideration. These buildings were henceforth marked by a large degree of uniformity, due partly to the substantial sameness of the fundamental problem and in part to a restraint in style brought about by the lessons taught by the success of the Fair.

Mr. Peter B. Wight, in summing up Mr. Burnham's work, explains that his buildings differ from those done by contemporaneous architects:

> The main exterior piers of his buildings are generally carried down to the ground full-size, so that they have that substantial appearance, the want of which has so often been criticized by those who object to heavy walls built on top of plate-glass. He seems to have satisfied the demands of his clients for big windows by building his main piers far apart.
>
> It would be useless to calculate the amount of money expended on buildings under Mr. Burnham's direction. The success of an architect does not depend upon the quantity of work that he has done; but rather upon its freedom from errors and, in commercial work, its paying qualities. If he has satisfied

his clients with show windows and at the same time carried his large piers down to the ground, he seems to have solved one problem in commercial architecture that others have failed in. I do not wish to assume that any one man could have designed so many large buildings, but I believe he planned them. When a man has no time to make large drawings, he has to make small ones, and he has to reduce the size of his sheets of paper as the demands upon his time increase. That is what Burnham did. He could lay out the plan for a large office building on sheets six inches square, and he would not only make one plan, but would use sheets enough to lay it out according to every arrangement he could conceive of until he found the best one to recommend to his client. That is what I have seen him do.

His conceptions of such things were always on such a large scale that few are broad-minded enough to comprehend them. He could keep twenty men at work in laying plans out on paper and perhaps not one of them understood exactly what he was driving at; but when the drawings were completed, they expressed just what he intended. Great men do not always tell us how they accomplish things, and therefore we do not understand; but somehow they get there. When they themselves do not do the plans, they are smart enough to know where to find one who can design a big thing on a few suggestions, such as the fellow himself would never dream of without help. And that is what Burnham did.

To this just characterization one other element should be added. To Mr. Burnham cleanliness seemed not next to godliness, but on a par with it. Hence his use of white marble and glass in corridors. He planned so that every spot should show, and hence the building must be kept clean. Maintenance might seem expensive, but the expense was more than balanced by earning capacity. For this reason his buildings usually maintain their paying qualities long after the tide of commercial fashion has turned to other portions of the city.

ILLINOIS TRUST AND SAVINGS BANK, CHICAGO

It is not to be assumed that all commercial buildings are designed purely with a view to their rent-paying qualities. Occasionally a client can be induced to get his results on another basis than returns on floor-space. One such client Mr. Burnham either found or made in the Illinois Trust Company, whose building called forth a letter of praise from Charles McKim.

DEAR DANIEL [writes Mr. McKim, on November 15, 1897], In the midst of the perplexities of existence, and a table full of papers (which I live in vain to dispose of!) it was a pleasure just now to have placed in my hand a copy of the "Architectural Review," filled with all manner of photographic reproductions of works of architecture, good and indifferent, but chiefly bad. Just as I was about to toss it into the waste-paper basket, where I felt that it belonged, I caught sight of the last page, containing an advertisement of the Standard Marble Works, John Mueller, Proprietor, who was wise enough to recognize, in the creation which you made of it, in the Illinois Trust & Savings Bank Building, a masterpiece, and the very best advertisement they could have.

It is hard to conceive of such a simple and beautiful structure, with so much repose, in so horrible a climate, and in the midst of such hellish surroundings! (Not that I don't believe in the Spirit of Chicago.)

I congratulate you upon such clients, in the Directors of the Bank, as the building suggests them to be, and I have pasted Mr. Mueller's advertisement over my desk.

Yours faithfully
CHARLES F. McKIM

In another letter, equally characteristic, Mr. McKim writes of "your magnificent design for the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank Building, which I assure you we have all greatly admired, and take pride in. In the midst of free silver and sham con-

struction it stands for sound money in every line, and is an echo of the work of '93. It will remain a monument long after you are gone." Unfortunately for Mr. McKim's reputation as a prophet, he was unappreciative of the rapid growth of Chicago, the consequent appreciation in the value of real estate in the Loop District, and the expansive forces of a great bank. This beautiful building is doomed to be replaced by one which will tower into the air to the permissible height of structures in the business section of Chicago.

After their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Burnham lived with Mr. Sherman, at 2100 Prairie Avenue. There all their children were born, excepting Daniel, Jr., who first saw the light in a home given by Mr. Sherman to his daughter in 1880, and located at the southwest corner of Michigan Avenue and Forty-third Street. There the family lived until 1886, when Mr. Burnham bought the Evanston property, comprising two city blocks, on the shore of Lake Michigan. This estate is the home of the Burnhams. It was an ideal place for bringing up a family of children. A coal-dock furnished a recreation pier; the sandy beach, which then covered the space now occupied by the broad terrace, supplied opportunities for swimming; in the thicket of woods that stretched across the property the bloody scenes of Indian surprise and attack witnessed by the older residents of Chicago were reënacted by the Burnham children and their troop of companions; towards the front were croquet grounds and tennis courts; and the already spacious house from time to time threw out the extensions called for by hospitality and neighborliness and permitted by prosperity.

CHAPTER VIII

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS

AT the twenty-seventh annual convention of the American Institute of Architects, held in Chicago in July, 1893, Mr. Burnham was elected president. On the part of the architects the choice was a recognition of the organizing and administrative abilities of Mr. Burnham. On his part it was a call to continued activities in establishing his chosen profession in national leadership and respect.

In February, 1893, Congress completed the legislation known as the Tarsney Act, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury in his discretion to obtain plans and specifications for the erection of public buildings in the United States by competition among architects under such provisions as he might prescribe, and to make payment for the services of successful architects out of appropriations for the respective buildings. It was provided that no fewer than five architects should be invited to enter each competition; that the successful architect should supervise the carrying-out of his own plans; but that the general supervision should continue to be performed by the Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department.

This legislation had been persistently sought by the Institute during several years. They had shown to Congress that the earlier and better Government architecture, such as the Capitol, the White House, the Treasury, Post-Office and Interior Department buildings, had been designed by private architects; whereas the Supervising Architect's office was re-

sponsible for the State, War and Navy Building, the new Post-Office on Pennsylvania Avenue, and Federal buildings in various cities, which represented a retrogression in taste combined with increased expense, as compared with privately constructed buildings. The Supervising Architect, at first a designer, had become simply an administrator, and that, too, with so much work in his office — from fifty to sixty buildings a year — that he rarely saw a building in course of erection and was compelled to leave designing to clerks who copied drawings without regard to local needs or conditions.[1]

No sooner was the Tarsney Act signed than Richard M. Hunt, Charles McKim, and President Kendall of the Institute called on Secretary Carlisle, who assured them that henceforth every Government building would be built on plans selected through competition among the architects of the country. No action resulted. In November the secretary of the Institute, Alfred Stone, wrote to the Supervising Architect to inquire whether it was "possible to find some way to overcome the prejudices of the Secretary of the Treasury, if he is prejudiced against the act, or of finding means to induce him to institute competitions on several of the very important buildings ordered by Congress." The use of the word "prejudice" was unfortunate. The Supervising Architect, Jeremiah O'Rourke, seized upon it, and remarked in reply that he had no cause to believe that the Secretary's reason for deferring action was other than that his time had "been fully occupied by public business of a most pressing nature."

[1] House Report 1078, 52d Cong., 1st Sess., by Mr. Tarsney from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. The bill passed the Senate February 4, 1893, and was approved February 20.

ARCHITECTS' DINNER AT KINGSLEY'S RESTAURANT, CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 28, 1891
At end of table: Burnham
Facing: Peabody, Cobb, Hutchinson, Governor Palmer
Back to: McKim, Marshall Field, Van Brunt, Saint-Gaudens

One structure mentioned specifically by Secretary Carlisle as being open to competition was the Buffalo Federal Building. Yet after the act had been in force a year, the Supervising Architect published his own designs for the Buffalo building. The Buffalo chapter having called the matter to the attention of the Institute,[1] a protest was sent to the Secretary on January 9, in which it was stated that the Supervising Architect's design, if carried into execution, would be found "absolutely wanting in the fundamental elements that go to make a public building, and will be condemned by the community." [2] The Secretary was asked to prevent the construction of the design. In the ordinary course of business the protest went to the Supervising Architect, who took it upon himself personally to answer it. Mr. O'Rourke, referring to "a rather clumsily folded communication," said that it was "of such unusual and extraordinary character... and so at variance with professional courtesy and good breeding that, in justice to the A.I.A., I hesitate to believe in its legitimacy." He asked Mr. Stone to vouch for its genuineness and assured him that on receipt of his reply he "would give the matter the attention it may deserve."

The soft answer made by Secretary Stone failed to turn away the wrath of the Treasury officials. On February 6 the Executive Committee of the Institute, having been urged thereto by the people of Buffalo and the whole architectural profession, sought an interview with Secretary Carlisle, who excused himself and referred the committee to the Supervising Architect.

[1] Letter of D. H. Burnham to Secretary Carlisle, February 14, 1894. Given in the *American Architect*, April 7, 1894.

[2] The protest was signed by D. H. Burnham, president; George B. Post and Levi P. Scofield, vice-presidents; Alfred Stone, secretary.

The committee, having declined to meet Mr. O'Rourke until he had withdrawn his insulting letter, conferred with Assistant Secretary William E. Curtis, who told them that four objections had prevented his chief from taking action — the expense of architectural fees; the interference of Congressmen who claimed the right to name the architects for competitions; that to begin in Buffalo was urgent in order to give work to the unemployed; and that no machinery had been created to carry out the act. On the same day Mr. O'Rourke wrote Mr. Burnham that he was willing to meet the committee in a friendly spirit. Mr. Burnham replied expressing the sincere hope that Mr. O'Rourke would withdraw his offensive letter and thus "gain the esteem of all men of the profession," and saying that he was engaged in formulating an answer to Mr. Curtis's objections.

On February 14 Mr. Burnham wrote to Secretary Carlisle giving a history of the controversy, with the documents, and continued:

I now have the honor of taking up the points brought out in the interview with the Honorable Assistant Secretary, in Washington, on February 5. The gentlemen of the committee of the Institute who were present on that occasion were Mr. George B. Post, of New York; Mr. E. H. Kendall, of New York; Mr. Charles F. McKim, of New York; Mr. Arthur Rotch, of Boston; Mr. William W. Clay, of Chicago; Mr. Samuel A. Treat, of Chicago; each of them would be regarded as a competent critic of architecture, and there can be no doubt as to their fairness.

The design of the Buffalo building was examined by them with a view of suggesting changes to bring it up to the proper standard for a structure of that nature. Their unanimous conclusion was that such a course was not possible; that to make

the present design satisfactory would involve changes so extensive as really to produce a new design; that it would, therefore, be better to start *de novo*. In short, it is the opinion of the committee that the defects in the design, for the purpose, are radical.

The Government paid out in 1893 for its buildings and repairs, apart from purchase of ground, about $3,200,000. The total expenses of the Supervising Architect's Office for 1893 were $198,000, or six per cent on the cost of the work actually done. The price for the same service by the best men in the country in private life is five per cent, or one per cent less than the actual cost to the United States for the same thing in 1893. This one per cent ought to very much more than cover the cost of the services, which, under the bill, the Supervising Architect would still have to furnish, *i.e.*, that of estimating, inspecting of accounts, auditing, and such superintendence as would be needed to supplement that done by the architects themselves. Any reputable architect would consider it extremely extravagant if he found that the service left under the bill to the Supervising Architect had cost him in his private practice one per cent of the value of the buildings themselves. Instead of its costing the Government more for architectural service if private practitioners be employed, the cost will be reduced and there will be a considerable saving.

The entire profession of architecture desire to have the proposed building for Buffalo thrown open to competition, which shall include the architects of the country. This, I am informed, is also the wish of the profession in Buffalo. From what little agitation there has been in that city, it is evident the people there are quite as eager that this course should be pursued as are the architects themselves, and it can be proved to you that Congressmen from that place can only represent their people properly by advising it.

The people are no longer ignorant regarding architectural matters. They have been awakened through the display of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, where it was generally remarked that the Government building was inferior to any of the other large structures.

The question the people of Buffalo now ask is not "Can the Act of Ninety-Three be improved?"; they know that as it stands, you have the power to order a competition for their building. They have the opinion of the board of directors of the Institute that the design made in Washington is improper, and they believe this themselves. They ask you to take the step which the law authorizes, thus insuring a noble monument, which may be forever a pleasure and pride to the city.

And to this end, by authority of the executive committee of the Institute, I have the honor to state that the members of the American Institute of Architects will compete for this Buffalo building without pay, except to him whose design shall be chosen.

I think the Assistant Secretary was mistaken about the urgency of the Buffalo people to have the building started at once, because of the need of furnishing employment to laborers. I have had a number of clippings from the Buffalo papers, some of them being editorials, in which this position is strongly controverted. . . .

The competition can be carried through in an exceedingly short time if you will order it. The exigency of the case would be considered by the architects, and they would be willing to prepare plans much quicker than could ordinarily be expected of them.

I have already said that the architects themselves will agree to furnish a full and satisfactory competition for this special case, without cost to the Government. We are also ready to assist the Government in the arrangement of a code for the competition. This matter of "competitions" has been studied from time to time by very able architects, and a code for conducting them has more than once been printed.

I note by the public press that the Supervising Architect recently informed Assistant Secretary Curtis that it will take three years and a half for his office, as now constituted, to design the buildings already authorized. If this be approximately true, the retaining of a number of the most able architects of the country to assist him is imperative and urgent.

GROUP OF WORLD'S FAIR ARCHITECTS, ARTISTS, AND OFFICIALS, MAY, 1891

Left to right: D. H. Burnham, George B. Post, M. B. Pickett, Henry Van Brunt, Francis D. Millet, Maitland Armstrong, Col. Edward Rice, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Henry Sargent Codman, George W. Maynard, Charles F. McKim, E. R. Graham, Dion Geraldine

I now have the honor to request you to name a day when the executive committee of the Institute may be heard by you on the questions covered by this memorial. We offer to assist in placing its architecture upon the footing demanded by the country. We will serve without pay, giving our best endeavors to the work.

I have the honor to remain,

Yours faithfully D. H. BURNHAM
President, A.I.A.

After waiting nearly a month, Secretary Carlisle replied that Mr. Burnham's memorial did not cover the points raised by Mr. Curtis and intimated that further legislation would be required. The letter closed with the statement that while another interview would give him pleasure, he saw no need of it unless Mr. Burnham was prepared to propose additional legislation. Meantime work on the Buffalo building would go on according to the O'Rourke plan.

Thus the work of the Institute and the Act of Congress were to go for nothing because of pride of opinion on the part of a Supervising Architect whose plans were condemned and the indifference of a Secretary of the Treasury who was more used to making laws than to obeying them.[1]

More in sorrow than in anger, but with unconcealed indignation, Mr. Burnham replied:

I am astonished at the contents of your letter of March 6, just received. I am, however, informed that it was prepared by the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, and I observe that it was signed for you by one of your secretaries.

Its statements are very inaccurate, and I gladly believe that it has not passed your scrutiny. The proposed change is not

[1] In the same way Secretary Carlisle refused to put in force the law exempting from taxation alcohol used in the arts.

the action desired by the Institute of Architects alone. It is one in which the country is deeply interested.

You yourself inaugurated it when you sent for a committee from the Institute one year ago. At your request the most eminent men in the profession visited you, headed by the president of the Institute. You told them then that you were in accord with them regarding the law which had just been passed.

At that interview you yourself brought up the Buffalo Post-Office as a case in which the law might first be tried. The architects of the country favor the change, as do all intelligent citizens. It is not a private measure of theirs, but one in which you yourself took the initiative.

I quote from your second paragraph: "The difficulties briefly stated to your committee by Assistant Secretary Curtis, as specified on the eighth page of the memorial."

I do not understand why the letter juggles with words.

Your Department stated the objections and they are written in the memorial on page eight and numbered from one to four inclusive. You now say, "The memorial is confined exclusively to elucidating a plan for the competition only, and leaves without discussion, and unsolved, all the principal obstacles in the way," etc.

Page eleven of the memorial starts with the sentence, "I now have the honor of taking up the points brought out in the interview with the Honorable Assistant Secretary," etc., and then goes on to carefully discuss each of them and solve the difficulty.

I will emphasize what I there said. . . .

The claim that the memorial does not discuss or solve the principal obstacles is absurd.

There is no business reason why the law may not be put in force at once, nor has there been, that I am able to discover.

The working of the Supervising Architect's Office is not a free-masonry requiring specially trained adepts to undertake it. It is a simple organization which any good business men, with a knowledge of building, can understand and operate, and

I venture to assert that if the good-will to do so were present in your Department, the organization of the Office on the basis of the present law, which gives you the right to employ the best designers in the country, could be brought about in a few weeks, and that it would then be better than the present one.

I do not forget the protestations of the Supervising Architect of his readiness and anxiety to do all in his power to forward this important matter. I am aware that you yourself stated to the gentlemen of the Institute that you were in hearty accord with them on the subject; I am also aware that twelve long months have since passed, during which nothing whatever has been done in your Department looking toward the carrying-out of this law, except at the eleventh hour when Mr. Secretary Curtis stated to a committee the four principal obstacles which were in the way.

The obstacles are not real ones, and never were, and after carefully looking over the ground I can see no others, although I am tolerably familiar with the workings of the Supervising Architect's Office in Washington, and entirely familiar with the law on the subject. You now inform us, in effect, that the law must be amended before you will act under it. I can see but one amendment which is needed to insure the satisfactory working of this measure, *i.e.*, the introduction of a clause ordering the Secretary of the Treasury to carry out its plain intent and purpose, and not leaving it to his discretion.

I have the honor to remain,

Yours faithfully D. H. BURNHAM
President, A.I.A.

To this letter Secretary Carlisle made reply:

Washington, D.C., March 12, 1894

MR. D. H. BURNHAM,
President A.I.A.
The Rookery, Chicago, Ill.

SIR, — Your very offensive and ungentlemanly letter of the 9th instant is just received, and you are informed that this

Department will have no further correspondence with you upon the subject to which it relates, or any other subject.

Very respectfully

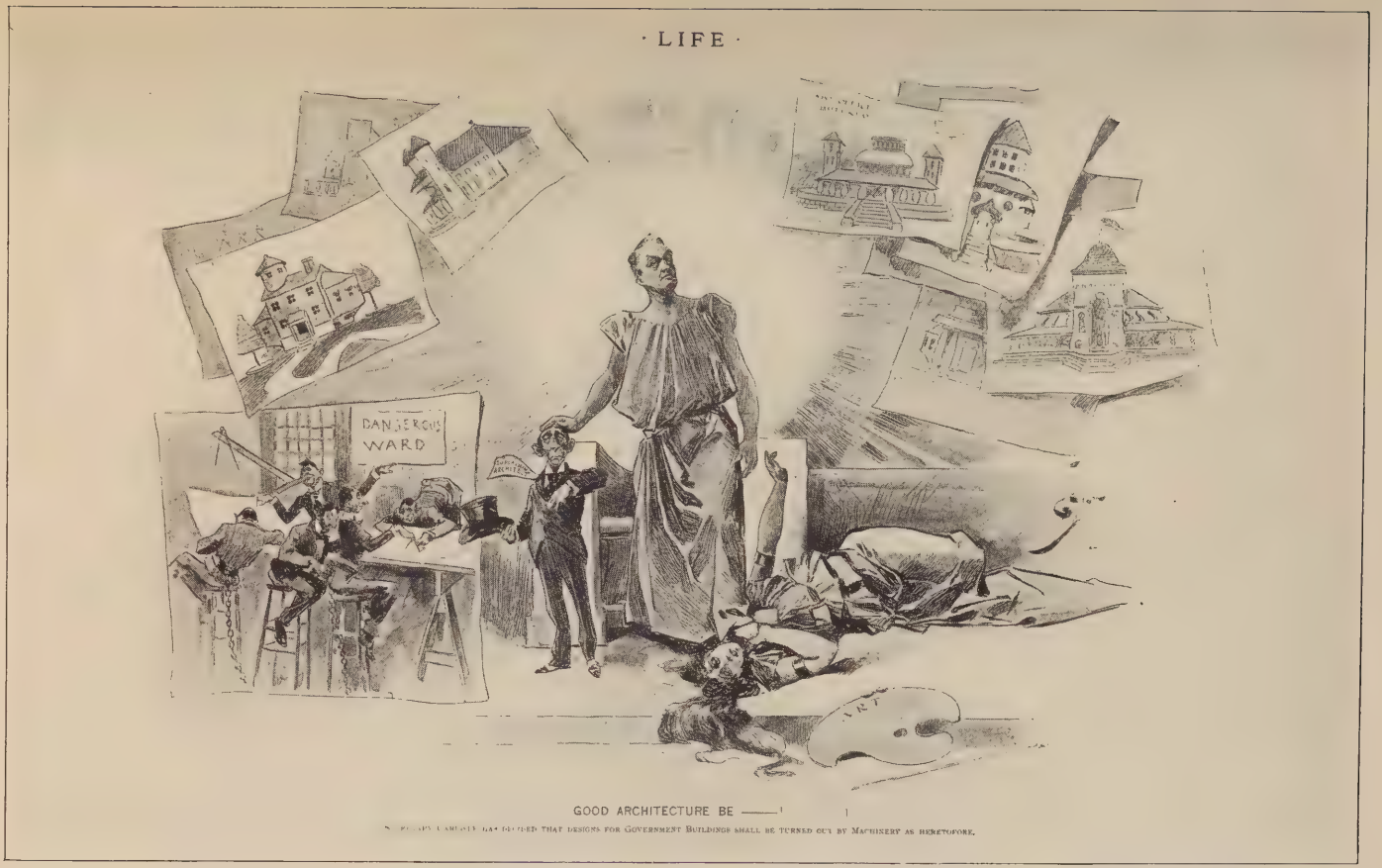
J. G. CARLISLE

Secretary

Mr. Burnham's letter to Secretary Carlisle may be criticised as lacking in tact and in respect for a high officer of the Government. As to the second item, even a Secretary of the Treasury is a servant of the American people; and when Congress deliberately enacted legislation for an end approved even by the Secretary, it was his duty to carry out the law in good faith. As to the matter of tact, the "American Architect" aptly says: "We now feel that there was a sort of rough-and-ready propriety in using the unusually plain language employed by Mr. Burnham, as it was the means of bringing to the view of all a matter which has been too long conducted in the depths and labyrinths of officialdom." The "Boston Herald," then friendly to the Administration, was of the opinion that "when Mr. Burnham found that the matter under discussion had been deliberately misrepresented in the letter from Mr. Carlisle, he was bound, out of respect to his position as official head of his profession, to reply as he did." [1] At any rate, the thunderstorm cleared the air.

After Mr. Burnham's correspondence with Secretary Carlisle all negotiations between the Institute and the Secretary of the Treasury ceased. In May, Bruce Price gave a dinner at the Union Club, New York, to Assistant Secretary Curtis, and at the suggestion of the latter a bill providing for a commission on public buildings was prepared by George Post, was revised by

[1] *American Architect*, April 14, 1894.


· LIFE ·
DANGEROUS WARD
GOOD ARCHITECTURE BE ——
SECRETARY CARLISLE HAS DECREED THAT DESIGNS FOR GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS SHALL BE TURNED OUT BY MACHINERY AS HERETOFORE.

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THE CARLISLE-BURNHAM CONTROVERSY
Cartoon printed in "Life," April 12, 1894

Secretary Carlisle, and was introduced in the House by Representative McKaig. Mr. Burnham was one of the dozen architects who attended the hearing, at which Richard M. Hunt presented the case for the architects. In spite of all efforts the bill failed. Mr. O'Rourke charged the failure to the unfortunate report on the bill, which antagonized members of Congress. Mr. Carrère, who acted as manager of legislative proceedings, related a sad tale of discourtesy and opposition on the part of Chairman Bankhead, of the Public Buildings Committee, instigated by the Treasury.[1]

In 1897, however, the change came. Lyman J. Gage, appointed Secretary of the Treasury, brought to the office all the lessons of the World's Fair. He determined that so long as he was in office all the buildings erected by the Treasury Department should fairly represent the art of the country. Acting under the Tarsney Act, competitions were ordered for the buildings at Norfolk, Virginia, Camden, New Jersey, and for the Immigrant Station at Ellis Island, New York.[2]

Secretary Gage carried on his reforms by asking the Institute to appoint a committee to examine candidates for the office of Supervising Architect. President Post selected Messrs. Burnham, Peabody, Chandler, and Carrère to act with himself

[1] *A.I.A. Proceedings*, 1896, p. 39. Perhaps it is due to Secretary Carlisle to say that he offered the office of Supervising Architect to John Carrère, who declined in a letter which traversed the entire subject and concluded: "My examination of the office and its possibilities convinces me that the underlying principle upon which it is based is radically wrong, and that it is beyond the power of any one man to make a success of it. The system, not the man, should be changed." (See *A.I.A. Proceedings*, 1912, p. 39.)

[2] Mr. Post and Mr. Burnham acted as jurors on the Norfolk competition and awarded the commission to Wyatt & Nolting. Rankin & Kellogg were successful in the Camden competition and Boring & Tilton won the Immigrant Station.

in the matter. James Knox Taylor was selected. During his term of office he worked in complete sympathy with the aims of the architectural profession and raised the standard of Government architecture to the highest point attained since the construction of the Treasury Building.

In 1912 Congress repealed the Tarsney Act, "in spite of the opposition of the entire architectural body of the country, as well as all other art associations whose attention was directed to the matter. The actual reasons for the repeal are not known," says the Institute Report for 1912, "the ostensible ones being so capable of disproof as to be unworthy of consideration. As the matter now stands, the profession of architecture is under the Government ban." President Walter Cook in his address brushed aside the plea of economy urged by the legislators and with characteristic irony suggested that the Government, having resumed control of architecture, add factories of sculpture, painting, and even one "to turn out all odes, sonnets, or lyric verse which may be needed to celebrate the achievements of our enlightened Republic."

The reports show that the real reason for the repeal of the Tarsney Act was dissatisfaction on the part of Congress with the fact that the Government was paying a commission of six per cent, just the same as private clients; whereas the high value of materials and the expensive character of Government work seemed to make such payments exorbitant.[1] The Tarsney Act was passed after a full discussion at which the architects were represented. It was repealed with no further defence

[1] Hearings before the sub-committee of the House Committee on Appropriations in charge of the Sundry Civil Bill for 1913; Part 1; pp. 132–36, 208, 210, 216.

than that of James Knox Taylor, the Supervising Architect, and therefore a dependent of the Appropriations Committee. Mr. Taylor told the committee that the prevailing practice in the Supervising Architect's Office was to submit to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds an estimate of cost for a public building in a given town, the estimate being based on the needs for space during a period of ten years in the future. The building having been authorized and the limit of cost having been fixed by legislation, an appropriation was made in the Sundry Civil Bill. Then the Supervising Architect had plans prepared, usually in his own office, but sometimes by outside architects. Buildings costing less than half a million dollars were designed in his office. Under the Tarsney Act the Secretary of the Treasury selected not fewer than five architects to compete for the commission to design a building, the selection being based on ability. The programme of competition was made by the Supervising Architect, who also recommended the jury of architects to make the award.

The chief inquisitor was the Honorable Swagar Sherley, who had a number of grievances against prevailing methods: a marble building erected in a brick town; interference with plans and costs on the part of senators and members looking after the interests of their home towns; double supervision by architects and Government; and the amount of the commission. Mr. Sherley expressed the Congressional attitude: "What struck me was that everywhere else in life a man who gets a job of very large proportions is willing to get a less percentage on it than on a small job, but you do not seem to think that makes any difference at all."

To this Mr. Taylor replied that the Department gave out

only large jobs, so that there were no small ones. The Honorable Joseph Cannon, who acted as the Greek chorus, interposed:

"In other words, the organization of architects met and agreed that their compensation should be increased from five to six per cent."

Mr. Taylor. "That is it."

Mr. Cannon. "And you pay the market price."

Mr. Taylor. "Yes, sir."

Mr. Cannon. "Or, to put it in another way, that is the union price."

Mr. Taylor. "I should not say it was the union price."

Mr. Cannon. "I mean the organization price."

Mr. Taylor. "Yes, the organization price."

Mr. Cannon. "I do not speak of it in any criticising way, but the fact is that is practically the union scale of the architects."

This interchange shows the working of the Congressional mind on the subject of employing outside architects on Government work; and there are no indications of change. The question is how to meet a recurring situation.

The Honorable J. J. Fitzgerald, the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, said that there was "a rather general universal expression of opinion that the Tarsney Act should be repealed"; and that outside architects should be employed only pursuant to specific authorization by Congress, the object being to get away from "the system of paying trust prices for services, and to permit the Government to make contracts with architects just as private individuals do." For himself he favored the plan under which the Senate and House office buildings were constructed. The work was placed in charge of the Superintendent of the Capitol, who made a con-

MR. BURNHAM AND DANIEL H. BURNHAM, JR.
About 1894

tract with Carrère & Hastings to design the buildings at a salary of $10,000 a year, under which contract they received less than $30,000. It was pointed out that every expense was paid from the building fund; and that the $10,000 a year represented the clear profits of the firm.[1]

Mr. Taylor advised that the Tarsney Act be modified so that the Government should get from the architect drawings, specifications, and details, and such inspection as would enable him to see that his ideas were being carried out, leaving the actual construction to the Government. Such is the general basis under which work is now being done in cases where Congress authorizes the employment of expert service.

So the Tarsney Act was repealed, after having been in force since 1893 and in operation since 1897. The architects received about a million and a half of dollars as commissions on thirty-four buildings costing over twenty-eight millions. The largest fee, nearly a quarter of a million, went to Cass Gilbert for the New York Custom House. Under the provisions of the act authorizing the Washington Post-Office the fee of D. H. Burnham & Co. was $120,000.

The controversy between Secretary Carlisle and Mr. Burnham as president of the American Institute of Architects reveals the long-standing and as yet unsettled fundamental difference in opinion between the Government official, whether legislator or executive officer, and the architect. The apparent rock of offence is the fee. The Government is not used to paying for personal services the salaries or fees usual in private

[1] The first arrangement to design the buildings was made with Peabody & Stearns, of Boston, who stood by the Institute schedule of fees and so lost the commission.

business, save in the lower grades. This is true from the President, Justices of the Supreme Court, and Cabinet officers down to heads of divisions. Every architect who undertakes Government work must expect to take part of his compensation in the honor and prestige such work brings, and also he must expect to serve partly from a sense of loyalty, just as a Senator or Congressman does. Plausible arguments may be urged against such a view, but the feeling on the part of officials that the architect should serve the Nation practically without profit is pervasive, widespread, and of long standing.

Again, the Government has its Office of Supervising Architect of the Treasury on which it depends for inspection and accounting. The inspection may not be as intelligent as in private work; but it is more rigid and less open to compromise, which involves the exercise of private judgment and accountability. The accounting also is involved to the point where red-tape seems to defeat its own object; but experience has shown that each such burdensome requirement is devised to prevent fraud; because human nature is prone to argue that it is no wrong to cheat the Government. Not that the cheating would be done by the architect; but he has a multitude of contractors whose honesty he cannot compel.

Moreover, in monumental buildings such as the Government requires the materials have comparatively large intrinsic value; and in such cases a fee based on costs seems to the officials excessive. Here, also, the argument may not be on the side of the Government, but to officials and legislators it seems sound. If, therefore, architects desire to do Government work they must at least consider the official point of view and be prepared to meet it in one way or another.

On the other hand, the organization of the Supervising Architect's Office has been uncertain and far from uniform; so that Congress has often placed the control of construction in the hands of some individual who has shown special aptitude for such work. Bernard R. Green was an instance in point. For more than fifty years he superintended the construction of one building after another, from the completion of the Washington Monument, the State, War, and Navy Building, and the Library of Congress to the National Museum. It was in connection with the latter building that Mr. Burnham came in contact with him.

Mr. Green was one of those civil engineers who appreciate the architect's — or artist's — point of view; and between him and the many artists who worked with him from time to time there was engendered mutual respect and consideration.

Again, the Lincoln Memorial and the Arlington Memorial Amphitheatre have been constructed under the superintendence of the Officer in Charge of Public Buildings and Grounds, with excellent results and good feeling on all sides.

Perhaps a system as near the ideal as this world permits would be found in the preparation of the programme by an expert official acquainted with the requirements of the Government in relation to the particular structure; then the selection of an architect who has the experience and equipment necessary for large undertakings, as proved by executed work. The Government, by reason of meagre salaries paid, cannot expect to obtain from its employees the quality of service, in either plan or design, which private practice develops. Then the general contractor may well be displaced by a specially trained official, whose duty it should be to obtain the maximum of qual-

ity and economy. This would relieve the architect of bickerings with contractors on the one hand and on the other from the petty details of business management; and would promote the feeling that both the constructing officer and the architect were actuated by the common aim of securing for the Government the best returns for its investment.

The one essential thing that the architect has a right to demand is that he shall be permitted properly and effectively to put his creation into living form. Therefore he should be charged with all questions of location, plan, disposition, and general arrangement of buildings and grounds. He should prepare preliminary studies, working drawings, details and specifications necessary for the construction of the building in accordance with Government requirements. He should furnish such supervision and periodical *inspection* of the work while in process of erection as might be necessary to establish the fact that the work was being executed in conformity with the design and specifications. The *superintendence* should be carried on by the Government constructing official who would practically fill the office of contractor. This official also should be charged with engineering problems, except such portions as enter into the construction of the building and require the collaboration of the architect.

The amount of the architect's fee should be governed by all the above-mentioned considerations. It cannot be fixed arbitrarily for all Government work. Every architect should be left free to make his charges reasonable and proper, without being held to the Institute schedule for private work. Loss and humiliation have repeatedly been suffered by eminent architects who held out for Institute schedule fees only to find Govern-

THE OLIVER BUILDING, PITTSBURGH

ment work taken from them by brethren of equal professional standing, but of more elastic moral sense. Other architects have reached a compromise, have obtained the work, and have been satisfied with the outcome.

An observation of more than thirty years of Government building leads to the conclusion that when the mind of the architect meets the mind of a Government official, the result is apt to be satisfactory. There must be good faith and consideration on both sides.[1]

The 1894 Convention of the Institute was held at the Fine Arts Building in New York City, beginning October 15. Mr. Burnham in his opening address spoke of the improvements in the methods of practice during the past twenty years, due largely to the moral support of the Institute. He said:

While the Institute has from time to time recorded its convictions, it has refrained from insisting too rigidly on the observance of its rules. Through the Institute the beliefs of the architects have been crystallized, while each man has been left quite free to pursue his own course. Though as individuals we have been led or constrained by the consensus of the opinions of the Fellows of the Institute, we have been moved more by a desire to conform to the established standards of professional life than by any fear of discipline.

Until the Schedule of Fees was published, uniformity of charges did not exist, and there was no authority to back us in our demands for reasonable remuneration. Now, however,

[1] The Army War College, designed by McKim, Mead & White, was constructed under the superintendence of Major Sewall, of the Engineer Corps. The general lay-out of the grounds was made in coöperation with Colonel William M. Black, afterward Chief of Engineers. The compensation of the architects was arranged privately. The construction of the Treasury Annex, designed by Cass Gilbert, was superintended by the Supervising Architect's Office. The compensation was arranged between Secretary McAdoo and Mr. Gilbert.

both the Federal and State courts, in the absence of agreements to the contrary, accept that document as conclusive.

In the long run men are dealt with according to their estimate of themselves, and if we seek for higher standing among our countrymen, we must live up to the ideals of our more unselfish moments. Let the Institute, therefore, condemn those things which we have all called wrong, but some of which we have continued to do. Let this condemnation be printed on the Schedule of Fees, so that courts, clients, and architects hereafter may not fail to understand our views. Let the publication continue until custom shall have established laws too rigid to be broken and until all men have learned to conform. There are clients now who will not deal with architects who are not in good standing among their fellows. This is a growing class of men. We should let them know what is regarded as unprofessional conduct. In his dealings with us, I believe the average American will readily conform to the standard that we ourselves set up.

If clients demand and easily obtain preliminary services for little or nothing, it is our fault, not theirs; our own greed and unfairness to each other enables them to use us. We know this well and have often privately spoken of it among ourselves. Let us put a stop to this practice. It has been going on for hundreds of years, but it has always been productive of evil, and the time has come to say so publicly.

A young man, immature, not ready for independent professional life, makes sketches, or goes into competition without promise of pay. In an evil day for him, his design is accepted, and at a bound he springs into full practice. He makes a financial success and an artistic failure, and when the fever of youth is past, if he has the soul of a real architect, he looks back with bitter sorrow to the waste of his best possibilities. As he begins, so he must go on, not knowing enough and no longer having time to study; his last work is like his first, suggesting talent or mediocrity according to the nature of the man, but bearing the marks of weakness due to arrested development, and stamped with the author's sad consciousness of imperfection or conscious insolence.

The custom of showing designs to clients without pay, in the hope of getting a job, is bad for the architect, worse for the client, and worst of all for the suffering public, who must be inflicted with the crudities of our youth.

In the course of a discussion Mr. Burnham stated his convictions as to the province of the Institute, saying:

I do not believe in assuming such an attitude as will practically result in men feeling that unless they come into the Institute they are injured before the public. I think every man must be left independent. There are plenty of practitioners who do not desire to join any society; their bringing-up, their theories of life, are opposed to society life. A stigma has already unjustly and erroneously been cast upon this society: it is said that we are a trade-union. Last winter, it was more than once said in print that the architects were trying to force so-and-so through the Institute. We do not want to be a trade-union. We do not want power in the sense of having all the architects united to force a certain conclusion of ours, except through moral influence. I hope that this will ever remain a deliberative professional body.

At the conclusion of the Convention, Mr. Burnham was again elected president, the constitution permitting one reëlection. In 1895 the Convention was held at St. Louis on October 15. In his address Mr. Burnham paid tribute to "those Fellows who have been forever removed from our earthly vision." Of Richard Morris Hunt,[1] he said: "When the door of the fu-

[1] Richard Morris Hunt and Henry Hobson Richardson for many years divided the personal supremacy in American architecture. The George Vanderbilt house, Biltmore, North Carolina, seems destined to keep alive Hunt's fame as Trinity Church is to-day the enduring expression of Richardson's genius. Both men were pupils at the École des Beaux Arts, Hunt being the first and Richardson the third American student; both worked in offices of French government architects; and both selected for their masters men whose individualities suited their own peculiar temperaments. Richardson chose André, because of the "bigness" and "stuff"

ture opened and let this giant stalk through, we almost heard the shout of welcome from the mighty masters who had gone before him. They must have recognized at once his right to a place among them, by his lofty bearing and the noble aspect of his countenance. May he breathe upon our souls that pure knowledge of law which he is now enjoying, that through us the men who follow may be enlightened."

Mr. Burnham called attention to the fact that during the year 1895 the Beaux Arts had first issued its full diploma to Americans, John Van Pelt and Herbert Hale. He also announced the establishment in Rome of a school for those who have already become proficient in application of fundamental principles of architecture. Although it had been in operation only about one year, the school had already accomplished valuable work.

in his designs and because he liked great round arches and other picturesque and striking features of André's work. Hunt, because he preferred the French school of academic architecture, selected Hector Lefuel, with his splendor and monumental feeling. At the age of twenty-seven Hunt returned to America with the reputation of having designed the Pavillon de la Bibliothèque, a portion of the buildings connecting the Tuileries with the Louvre; and Thomas U. Walter gave him work on the completion of the United States Capitol. For forty years he practiced his profession in New York City. He was impulsive, quick-tempered, an unflagging enthusiast, fighting always for what he believed to be best, and capable of enlisting an army to fight with him. "His genius was not creative and he did not strike out on new lines, but he was brimming over with vitality. . . . His work is a demonstration of the value of authority, of the virtue of careful training, of the absolute necessity of some academic principles on which a work of art can be based with consistency and yet with the flexibility of nature." (See *American Architect*, July–September, 1895, pp. 45, 70, 97.)

The author has often walked up Fifth Avenue late at night with Charles McKim, who said he slept better for enjoying the sight of Hunt's W. K. Vanderbilt house; and having taken a look at it, he was ready to return home for another cigar before going to bed.

CHAPTER IX

EUROPE FOR THE FIRST TIME

1896

THE Fürst Bismarck, sailing from New York on January 28, 1896, carried Mr. and Mrs. Burnham for their first trip to Europe. He was nearly fifty years old and had earned both the right and the means to enjoy the new experiences. In every sense of the word he was a self-made man. The schools had not trained him for his life-work, nor had he been brought up among masterpieces which without consciousness on his part shaped his thoughts and tastes. He was a genuine product of the Middle West, ready to seize opportunity as fast as presented; always rising to the situation, mastering and dominating it. He possessed a discriminating mind which instinctively recognized the high things and which quickly absorbed from both persons and objects impressions and lessons. He never ceased to be a student and a learner; he never was contented until he had considered all possible solutions of a problem; but he was no laggard. He never paused in hesitation or turned back, but ever drove forward to the end. Hence it was that his life was a record not of dreams but of accomplishments.

The European trip was to be a holiday in a busy life, indeed, but it was also to be a means of feeding a nature starved for the want of certain amenities of living which it craved. The Diary which records his impressions reads like a record of discovery. He had read and thought and dreamed of the Past as embodied

in the lands beyond the sea; and now he was to test his impressions by actual experience and to find out what Europe had to offer to him in his progress through life.

With him, besides his wife, were Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Sherman. The baggage had been stowed the day before, and they were free to enjoy that most exquisite moment of a holiday, when the lines of the past have been cast off and the bow of the mind heads for the open sea of new experiences. They were interested keenly in a group of Italian toughs, who had come to the dock to give a send-off to a number of their fellows returning to Palermo, and who expressed their exuberance by smashing one another's hats, deriding the departing ones, and advising them to "shova da cola under dat steam, but doan shova dat ash." Free of the noisy tugs chartered by friends of departing travellers who followed the ship down the bay, the vessel settled herself for her long voyage, and "the last thing we saw this evening was the sun setting over a dark sea with a lowering look indicating plenty of wind — which we got duly the next day."

On February 4 the travellers reached Funchal, and on landing at the stone pier "were instantly in fairyland." The Diary records:

> We got into two sleds drawn by small brown oxen and were drawn through streets more charming for quaintness than I ever believed could exist in our day. We then took the railway and went high up on a mountain; on each side of us were beautiful villas and gardens covered with a bewildering succession of rich foliage, many of the trees, shrubs and flowers being new to us. The flowers were too gorgeous for words. In the villas there were people on the terraces and looking out of the windows; a priest with wide shovel-hat, a group of women with rich colored headgear, many children, many men and girls.

ENTRANCE TO THE BURNHAM HOME, EVANSTON

FOURTH OF JULY ON THE LAWN AT EVANSTON

As we climbed we looked back at the majestic mountains with their superb seal-browns and rich greens, all laid over an under-color of red ochre, mingled with the deep blue of sea and sky. If Europe can beat this, it will be too much for me! We came down on sleds steered by men who held the front runners by ropes. The head man shouted "Va," and away we went over the steep, narrow streets, just wide enough for two sleds to pass. We whizzed down at a dizzy pace over the fine paving of small stones set crosswise of the road and arranged so as to form a sort of corrugation or flight of steps.

On each side were walls with curious old doorways opening into fine private grounds of rich people. Occasionally we crossed other streets, also very narrow, and through them caught charming vistas of picturesque houses and towers, with the mountains beyond. Lower down we came into streets of wine-shops, tobacco-shops, and others through which we continued to run rapidly; the men shouting at every step with a prolonged cadence at the end of each short sentence, till both said "Va" and stopped to rest at a wine-shop, to take a drink at our expense. Then "Va," and down we came fast enough to make one fear a smash-up. The road turned and twisted down to the beautiful town, its narrow width still bounded by the high walls, stained many colors and surmounted with great masses of flowers — camellias of various colors, thousands in a bunch, the running heliotrope, then roses, honeysuckle, then bougainvillia, then a dozen things one never heard of, and over all the dark rich foliage of the magnolia, the queer and very beautiful evergreens and many trees whose names I never heard before and cannot remember now. The men who ran us were old-fashioned Portuguese pirates, their heads bound in bandanas. They must have been the same fellows who sailed the Spanish Main in buccaneer days. At last we reached the bottom of the two miles of slide and then dined in a funny old hotel, attached to which is a garden fit for Paradise. Then we started on a walk, the like of which I did n't expect to come to me ever. The quaint old beauty of the streets, with the masses of color of walls and flowers will never be forgotten.

February 7. William, our little German steward, called me while it was still dark. I looked out the porthole above my bunk and could see the outline of the African land. I ran out on deck just before sunrise. We were approaching the Pillars of Hercules, the gateway to the Mediterranean Sea. The African coast was very beautiful. The sun rose and tinted the land with lovely light pink madder. The harbor of Gibraltar was filled with craft large and small. There were British gunboats and ships-of-war, traders and plenty of lateen-rigged luggers, their masts slanting forward. The town is quaint and old; its narrow streets are lined with substantial structures, built mainly of stucco, though much stone is used. The evening was wonderful. The mountains were rich rose madder below and the peaks were pale rose, and the sky deep blue with dusky shades near the mountains. The peaks of the Sierras in Spain and of the gigantic Atlas Mountains in Africa and the Coast Range of Portugal and Gibraltar itself, fourteen hundred feet high, all were colored with the wonderful evening glow. I do not expect ever to see such beauty of color again.

February 8. I was out of my berth before the sun came up. Again I was astonished and carried away by a total surprise. I had thought the course would lie near the African coast. When I looked out I saw glorious purple mountains about five miles away to the north. They were the coast of Spain, and far above and inland of them arose the majestic Sierra Nevada, the snow-capped mountains. These furthest mountains were rosy with the first light of morning. Those below were still a beautiful purple in the coming dawn. For hours we ran along this Spanish coast, while dreams swelled big by imagination blotted out the present and many centuries of the past. Again the Roman fleet swept by, only to melt in the distance and so give place to the lateen-rigged Moorish ships carrying the dark-skinned warriors of Africa to Andalusia. On board the usual routine life went on, but the deck and the people were unreal things. We were bound for the ports from which these very Moors sailed out when going to their northern conquest.

February 9. Up early and out on deck. The African coast

in view, more giant mountains and most reverently welcome they were. How noble and dignified this world is after all. Power and struggle were before us, royalty in fact clothed in purple with the golden morning crown of high peaks; Africa saying "good morning," Aryan's son returning to the gateway of the East through which his fathers came. As Spain looks down on us, so did Africa, echoing the splendor that had fallen on "snowy summits old in story." O, day never to be forgotten! you bring glory to eyes that never saw you except in dreams, and dreams hereafter shall be wider and richer because of you.

February 11. The Riviera is before us. In the harbor are nine large French battleships and as we come to anchor the morning gun is fired from the Admiral's ship and the colors are broken out on all the vessels in the port. The drive to Nice is among the villas that rise above the road all the way along. The terraces are covered by fine trees and shrubs and are protected by very fine stone balustrades and approached by stairs, more or less magnificent. We took a carriage to Monte Carlo, where we arrived at noon. After lunch we visited the Casino, where there were five hundred people, half of them playing.

February 13. We returned to Nice by the upper Corniche drive. In the afternoon we took a carriage trimmed with flowers and a big basket filled with bouquets and went out on the beautiful promenade of the Riviera to help at the Battle-of-the-Flowers.

February 17. We landed and took cars up to Carthage. There we saw many bits of old architecture, but the glory of it is gone. The Romans and the Moors did their work too well. They are excavating now, however, and are beginning to show the foundations of the old town. We saw a nearly perfect Winged Victory of Greece's best day, evidently of the old Pentelic marble; and many fragments of superb carving.

February 19. We arrived at Malta early in the morning. We went by carriage up to the splendid church of St. John. A grand mass was going on, and I would gladly have stayed through it. Hundreds of celebrated Knights of St. John, the

Knights of Malta, are buried beneath chancel and aisles, under the sanctuary, and in the crypts under the church. Those in the chancel and aisles have each a slab of precious marble inlaid with mosaic. Some of these slabs are so fine in decoration one can scarcely leave them. We visited the old palace, the present governor's mansion and saw the armor worn by the Commandery of the Order of Malta from 1250 down to our time, each having the Knights' arms quartered with those of Malta.

February 21. We did not come in sight of the African coast until we were nearly in the harbor of Alexandria. There we saw the low, sandy shore much like our own at Evanston. Indeed for some time it was hard to believe we were on the Mediterranean and not on Lake Michigan. The landing scene was wonderfully brilliant. First we struck into and passed through a turquoise sea so exquisite as to cause every one to hang over the rail gazing into it. The pilot-boat came bounding over the crests and swung alongside, riding on pale blue dreams of waves, then we ran in through the dark channel with half revealed rocks here and there, and finally ran behind the old Heptasadium, which anciently was a breakwater, but now is a broad tongue of land on which stands the summer palace of the Khedive. The harbor was full of boats, those coming to the ship had Koptic boatmen with red coats and white turbans. They came in great numbers and fought for first place at the gangway, chattering like monkeys and appearing to be fighting with one another.

February 22. We landed, went through the customs officers by the help of a few cigars, and boarded the train. In our carriage were Mr. and Mrs. Harry Oliver and his niece. On each side of us through the Delta was the richest land in the world, splendid in color, every acre under cultivation. We saw the ancient operations going on, raising water by the wheel; camels, donkeys, buffaloes, and thousands of people. The color was varied by great fields of mustard and blue flowers, by red earths and a thousand greens. We ran through a succession of picturesque mud towns bearing names old in history before

POINT WEST OF ALGIERS
From a water-color sketch by D. H. Burnham

Cæsar came; skirted lakes, arms of the sea, where Cleopatra and Antony lived and loved. We reached Cairo about noon. The hotel with its raised terrace coming out into the street, the crowd of picturesque dragomen always standing in groups and waiting; the dress and ceremony of the guests, and then the street scenes with the running cries, all formed a whole, the animation and joyousness of which was delightful. We rode about town in the afternoon. The great mosques had mighty little interest for me, but the winding streets had much. We retired early after arranging with Edward Ayer to go to the Pyramids with him to-morrow. We found numbers of people we knew — Ayer and wife, Mr. and Mrs. Porter, Mr. and Miss Cassatt, and many others were there. Arthur Orr had just gone, also Charles McKim.

February 23. Our first view of the Pyramids gave us the sight of Ghezeh black against the sands of the Lybian desert. We lunched at a hotel built as a private house by an Englishman, and then each mounted a camel and started up to the old stone piles. We went among them all, by the Sphinx, down into the tombs, Ed. Ayer acting as guide, and such a guide no one ever had. I thank him now and always will for what he did that day. Here for the first time the past came and enveloped me fully and wholly, and I lived as if in the twenty-fifth century before Christ; not a thing of the present but our dress and the words we spoke to each other; all else was as it had been, even the face on the coffin case which gazed up at us from the bottom of the great excavation. The views of the Pyramids and Ghezeh and those back of old Memphis and those still further south are wonderful. The architects chose that high bank of sand, the commencement of the Lybian Desert, because it formed an architectural base or terrace for the mighty monument, and because they would not here be in competition with the mountains themselves. So they quarried the limestone from the Arabian side, hauled it across a plain, across the Nile, then over another plain and up the sandy beach, instead of building where the stone was found. The distance must be fifteen miles. I honor the designer who chose the location and

the King who let him do it. They have enabled men forever to feel the greatness of their conception and execution. Would that moderns could follow this example! We came back in our victoria through the wonderful Arabian Nights approach to the city, through the winding roads in the town bordered with palaces and palms among swarms of people and camels, with the beautiful runners skimming ahead to clear the way for their masters.

February 26. We met Mrs. Anderson [1] and went to visit the palaces of Three Princes. Margaret and Kate [2] went in and talked with the royal ladies while I cooled my heels in the reception-rooms, drank coffee, smoked cigarettes, and talked with the attendants. We dined, then went about with the Dalibas and Mrs. Ayer and saw the howling Dervishes and then came home, Margaret and Mrs. Ayer first visiting the dancing girls.

February 29. Quarantine at Beyrouth. Damascus only a few miles back behind the mountains, but we cannot go ashore. Beyrouth is a town of nearly 100,000 people. It should be the most delightful place on the East coast. It is under Turkish dominion and that settles it. It is very dirty and uninteresting, and the people are dull and apathetic. They don't seem to have any energy or any hope, but just let the fleas bite them. They don't even resent the operation enough to scratch.

March 5. We arrived at Jerusalem's port, Jaffa, early in the morning, and put off for shore through the breakers between the rocks. From the ship one can see the mountains where Jerusalem is. The Valley of Sharon is a dream, the land of Judea a vision, and the tribe of Dan must have preferred the location of its south division. Joseph the guide, a wily old Hebrew, and his son did well by us. Mrs. Egan was in our compartment and Walter came in every other minute to see that she was not lonesome.

We arrived in Jerusalem at noon, took our luncheon in the new hotel, with David's tower outside and the roof of Uriah's house below us. We were right against the Jaffa Gate and our

[1] Mother of Peirce Anderson.
[2] Mrs. Burnham and Mrs. Sherman.

feet rested on David's own ground. Then we took our way down to the Holy Sepulchre.

March 6. This afternoon we visited the Mount of Olives, returning around the walls outside the town, so we can say we have been clear around Jerusalem.

March 8. The classic lands of Greece came in sight early this afternoon. We ran through glorious islands all day. The view of Rhodes on our right was very fine. I made one large water-color of Rhodes — poor as usual.

March 9. We found ourselves in the harbor of Smyrna early in the morning and again in the presence of mountains that come to the sea. There is one grave mountain here at Smyrna, lying east of the town, on whose top a scattered snow-covering rests — a noble gentleman, like Bayard, a quite strong aristocrat. Its color is not in my box, a clear, silver gray, with pink as an undertone. In the strong light of cloudless day it maintains its dignity, tenderness and deep interest for one who has the good fortune to see it. The American cruiser, San Francisco, was in the roadstead, and many of our people visited it. Admiral Selfridge and Captain Hunker came over to visit our ship before we sailed. As we left the harbor to-night the San Francisco showed four very beautiful searchlights, played her signals by lanterns and gave us music from her band.

March 10. About noon we arrived at the Bosphorus, at the mouth of which through a sunbreak shone the old city of Stamboul; then we passed the Golden Horn and Pera, and went on up through the Hellespont into the Black Sea. Here the clouds broke away and the most glorious picture was disclosed. The fortresses of Asia in Europe on either side with the wonderful picturesque mountains, villages, palaces, ships and water, all united to form a splendid panorama. In the evening the town was beautiful as the sun set. The old part deep purple, the new still shining white in the light, the Horn filled with shipping.

March 11. We landed by boat and were driven by carriage to Santa Sophia. I had pictured it as splendid in color, outside and in. The exterior is nothing and the interior, though noble and imposing in size and general form, lacks much of the splen-

dor I had anticipated.[1] We put on shoes and marched through it, however, and enjoyed it much, but not the dirty town itself. We went through the bedraggled bazaars, lunched poorly at a café.

March 12. In the evening the Sultan, having just married a wife for the nineteenth time, had the town illuminated and glorious fireworks set off for two hours or more just above us on the hills in the palace grounds. The effect with the buildings was magnificent.

March 14. Again we are in the balmy air, brilliant sunshine enveloping us, and the opalescent islands of Greece all around us. Again the sea is vivid blue and the poetic land of this whole globe almost within touch. In the afternoon every effect produced by mountains, skies and water was perfection as we coasted close to Eubœa and saw temple-crowned hills, distant snow-clad mountains, great islands and wondrous liquid skies. When we rounded to the first vision of Attica, Colonel Stackpole leaned against me and whispered the whole of Byron's "Isles of Greece." Margaret and I stood in the bows till we drew close in the channel at Piræus. There is nothing like this spot in all the world. The islands enclose a deep-blue bay. High mountains cover the island. The Acropolis rises out of the centre of the plain like a jewel, and on it from afar shines the Parthenon.

March 15. Here we were in Athens. We visited the school and met Mr. Richardson; then called on the American Minister. The city is clean and beautiful; even its modern buildings are lovely. The spirit of old Greece has not departed. It still clings to nearly everything. In the two days we visited the Acropolis and saw the sun set from it once. It was a perfect evening and we sat entranced, speechless on the rocks, amid the fallen columns.

March 16. Athens! Athens! The Acropolis, the Mycene collection, old Agamemnon, his crown crumbling over his noble skull! Then the delightful ride to Eleusis. The wine-shops, the

[1] In his latter years Mr. Burnham learned more fully to appreciate the Byzantine architecture.

ALGIERS
From a water-color sketch by D. H. Burnham

farms, the Bay of Salamis; the Apollo ruins, like the Parthenon in style, of Doric. The ride back! The search in a rowboat for the ship! Dinner, enthusiasm on deck, and the sailing away!

March 17. I have the spirit of Greece once and forever stamped on my soul. It is the blue flower; the rest of life must be the dream and this land of Greece the reality. It has all seemed very familiar. The great amphitheatre in which Athens lies, the Acropolis, the view from it, the shapes of the hills and the colorings of everything. I imagine this is due to my old residence in the mountains of Nevada, but at times I have felt sure I was here before.

March 20. Early this morning we arrived at Naples. There was the smoking mountain just as we had imagined it. Everything was familiar. We drew inside the mole and went ashore at once and proceeded to enjoy one of the most delightful mornings of our trip. We went to the Museum, to the beautiful shore drive and to the Aquarium. We boarded the train at 2.10 for Rome, arrived there at eight o'clock, went to the Continental Hotel, found McKim, Lord,[1] and the Chevalere del Nero. It was altogether too delightful to find Charles. I love the man! He was, as he has ever been, most grateful to me. After settling the others I set out with him for the School of Rome — our school! We found it on a walled-in space, high up; fine old trees about it and just the spot and the house for us. The men, Lord and pupils, were doing well and were all delighted with the work and themselves. We saw Professor Hale[2] and had a long talk with him in his quarters until one o'clock in the morning.

March 21. Rome! To be in it, to wake up in it! What a delight! Every nerve in one's body seems to take a separate delight in the fact. We took carriages early — Del Nero acting as our guide. He drove us up on the high hillside and gave us the lay of Rome. He lunched with us and then Margaret and

[1] Austin Lord, director of the American School [now Academy] in Rome, 1994–96.

[2] William Gardner Hale, head of the Latin department, Chicago University; first director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, 1895–96.

I went to St. Peter's and the Campagna by the old Appian Way.

March 22. Charles McKim and our great afternoon on the Campagna!

March 23. The Pantheon with Charles McKim, a visit to the school and tea with Mrs. Hale.

March 24. At the new Museum with Charles Coleman[1] to see the wonderful new running figure and the draped woman. Start for Genoa at 8.50; all on hand to say good-bye, — Del Nero, Charles Coleman — with his cocktails.

March 27. Wind came out of the Gulf of Lyons. The sea was heavy and the sky wild — a new condition of things for us favored tourists. We struggled, but submitted to it, and all day decks and dining-rooms were deserted. But in the afternoon the sea was calmer, and again the tremendous Spanish coast loomed up, but gray and sad compared with the splendor thrown over it when we coasted by early in February.

March 28. We saw Gibraltar like a swan on the waters, with blue mountains beyond. We sailed at one o'clock and in a few hours were on the Atlantic out of sight of land — the last view of Europe being pale pink and blue — a most lovely farewell.

[1] Charles Caryl Coleman, A.N.A., painter, whose home was on the Island of Capri. He received a medal at the World's Fair, in 1893.

CHAPTER X

THE IMPROVEMENT OF WASHINGTON CITY

1901

WHEN President Washington was charged by Congress with the duty of superintending the creation of a capital city on the banks of the Potomac, he sent Major Andrew Ellicott to mark the metes and bounds of the Federal territory, and immediately afterward commissioned Major Peter Charles L'Enfant to make drawings "of the particular grounds most likely to be approved for the site of the Federal town and buildings." During the Revolution Count d'Estaing had commended L'Enfant to Washington, and the latter had formed a good opinion of the young French engineer's abilities. When peace had been conquered, L'Enfant settled in New York City, where he was enjoying a lucrative practice when Washington summoned him. Such was his confidence in the President that he immediately gave up his private work, and threw himself heart and soul into the task that, while it won for his name enduring fame, brought to him personally nothing but disgrace, neglect, and poverty prolonged through more than a quarter of a century.

Arriving in Georgetown in March of 1791, L'Enfant was soon joined by Washington, and the two tramped over hills and through forests to discover the most advantageous sites for the Congress house and the President's palace. These two points having been located, L'Enfant began his congenial task of laying out a city, reporting by mail twice a week to Thomas

Jefferson, then Secretary of State. Calling on Jefferson for maps, he received large and accurate ones of Strasbourg, Amsterdam, Paris, Milan, Turin, Frankfort, and other cities visited by the Secretary during his travels in Europe. On the margins of these maps were copious notes made by that observant traveller; but Jefferson proffered no advice beyond a few general observations, such as exhortations to adhere to classical models and those modern examples of architecture which had been approved by persons of taste.

A lieutenant in the French provincial service when he came to America at the age of twenty-two, L'Enfant [1] must have been familiar with landscape architecture as practiced by the great Lenôtre, whose work, not only in France, but also in England and in Rome, is still unsurpassed. Washington was not unacquainted with the stately art of landscape gardening as exemplified in the capital of his native State and the great plantations laid out according to plans brought oversea; and Jefferson's taste had been developed by actual study of some of the world's greatest examples of civic art. Two plans were drawn by L'Enfant, only to be rejected by his principals; but the third was accepted and adopted. In this accepted plan undoubtedly Washington and Jefferson each had some part, and for it Ellicott made valuable suggestions; but the origin and development of the general scheme belong alone to L'Enfant.[2]

The commissioners who had the general oversight of all matters pertaining to the District of Columbia had decided

[1] "The Reinterment of Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant"; Report made to the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, by James Dudley Morgan, May 11, 1909.

[2] "The Origin of the Plan of Washington," by Fiske Kimball. *American Architect*, September, 1917.

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on a system of streets running from north to south and from east to west. Upon this rectilinear arrangement L'Enfant imposed those diagonal avenues, radiating from the Capitol and the White House, which give to Washington its distinguishing feature. He also made disposition of the public buildings so as to secure to each its appropriate landscape setting; and he was most particular to preserve the axial treatment which is the cardinal principle of Lenôtre's work. In a word, he planned the capital city as a work of art, in which each feature should have a distinct relation to every other feature; and thus he gave to the scheme that feeling of unity which to-day excites the interest and admiration of the visitor in Paris.

In L'Enfant's plan the one great park of the city was to be the space connecting the Congress garden with the President's park south of the White House. Here a grand avenue four hundred feet broad and about a mile in length, bordered by gardens flanked with buildings, was to dignify the approach to the halls of legislation; and where the axis of the White House intersected the axis of the Capitol was to be placed the equestrian statue of Washington voted by the Continental Congress in 1783. The twenty-five springs within the limits of the city were to furnish abundant water-supply for fountains and cascades, and Tiber Creek was to be utilized as a canal to accommodate commerce, save where the waters should flow through the public gardens.[1] In this manner he proposed to overcome the arid conditions which prevail during the long Washington summers, or at least to mitigate them. The canal

[1] *History of the United States Capitol*, by Glenn Brown. 56th Congress; Senate document No. 6.

was built; in its day it served its full commercial purpose, and even now a small portion remaining uncovered is still in use. The cascades were never realized; and the most urgent need of the capital city to-day is fountains as numerous and as copious as those which give life and beauty to Rome.

L'Enfant became so absorbed in his plan that he conceived an exaggerated idea of his own importance. Fearing lest speculators would select the choicest sites, he perversely withheld his map from the commissioners, who needed it to satisfy purchasers at the sale of lots which was to supply the funds for the construction of the public buildings. Washington, who had received L'Enfant "not only as a scientific man, but one who added considerable taste to professional knowledge," and who regarded him as, by all odds, the person best qualified for the work in hand, intimated to the commissioners that the feelings of men of genius "are always alive," and that it is policy to humor them, or "to put on the appearance of doing so."

Unfortunately, however, it was found impossible to employ Major L'Enfant "about the Federal city in that degree of subordination which was lawful and proper"; and so Jefferson dismissed him after he had been employed only a single year. The President urged that his compensation be ample — twenty-five hundred or three thousand dollars; but L'Enfant placed the value of his services at fifty thousand dollars, and refused to take a less sum, nor would he accept an appointment as Professor of Engineering at West Point; and until the day of his death, in 1825, the tall, erect figure of the courtly Frenchman trod the corridors of the Capitol as he vainly pleaded with Congress for the reward he believed to be his due.[1]

[1] James Dudley Morgan papers, in the Library of Congress.

Washington and Jefferson not only adopted L'Enfant's plan, but so long as they were in power they protected it from perversions, just as they also guarded Thornton's plans for the Capitol from threatened changes by builders claiming to be architects; and by the time these two worthies had passed from the scene the main features of the original L'Enfant scheme were fixed beyond possibility of loss, although not beyond neglect and encroachment. Lack of money in the Federal treasury at first prevented a full realization of those elements which made for beauty, and in later years there was a marked decline in public taste.

The Civil War found and left Washington a straggling Southern town, ill-built, unpaved, with cattle and swine roaming the streets at will. During the war the poor and homeless negroes, who naturally drifted to the capital, squatted upon its vacant lands and built a cordon of huts on the range of hills that commands the city on the north.

Then came the Shepherd régime, during which Washington was improved with a ruthless hand. Grades were changed, streets cut down and hastily paved with wood; Congress was outwitted and defied; judges were lured on excursions from the city in order to prevent them from restraining the demolition of unsightly structures; money was poured out like a Potomac flood; taxes were doubled, and an enormous debt was piled up; but, after all has been said, the fact remains that the result was amply worth the cost.

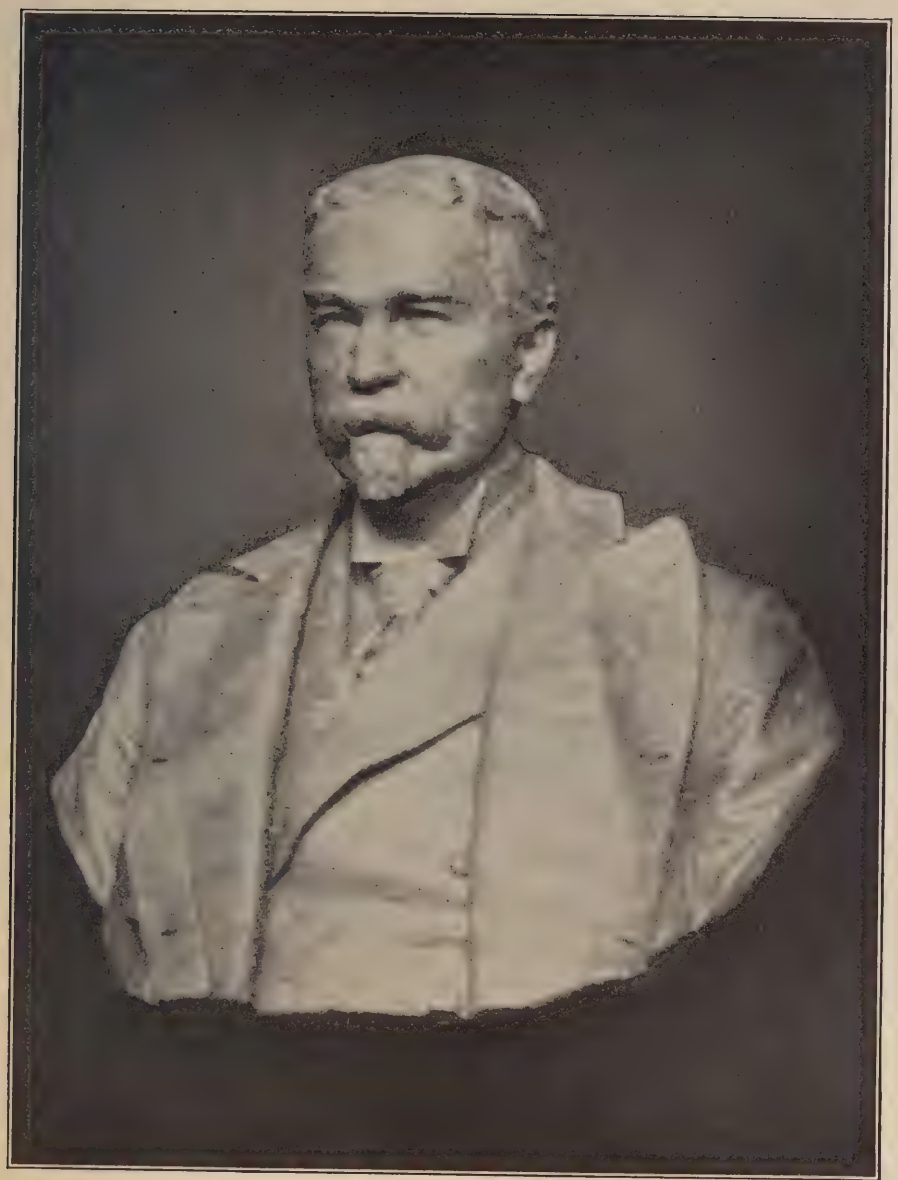
Meantime two great works had been accomplished. The Capitol extension, planned by Walter, had been finished during the war by the completion of the superbly proportioned dome; and in 1884 the half-built Washington Monument, which had

been an eyesore for a generation, was carried to its present splendid height. Unfortunately, however, the engineers, despairing of building a firm foundation at the intersection of the two axes as planned by L'Enfant, placed the monument off centre as regards both the Capitol and the White House. Moreover, the space where was to have been the grand avenue connecting those two monumental buildings had become a common pasture, watered by a canal lined with wood-yards; and, as if with the purpose of destroying forever L'Enfant's conception, in 1870 the citizens invited, and Congress sanctioned, the location of a railroad across the Mall.

It is true that the parks and circles which L'Enfant had reserved for improvement by the States came to be adorned with statues of heroes of the Rebellion, until to-day Washington can boast of more bronze horsemen than any other city on the globe possesses; that, year by year, the small parks have been improved, the streets have been well paved, and many excellent residences have been built; and that large park areas have been either purchased or reclaimed from malarial marshes. The one thing lacking in the development of the capital was that unity for which L'Enfant strove.[1]

On December 12, 1900, the centenary of the removal of the seat of government from Philadelphia to Washington was celebrated at the White House by a company invited by President McKinley and made up of Senators, Members of Congress, the Supreme Court, ambassadors and ministers, the Governors of the States, officers of the Army and Navy, and many private persons, including members of the American Institute of Ar-

[1] "The Improvement of the District of Columbia," *Century Magazine*, February and March, 1902.



From a bust by Augustus Saint-Gaudens

JAMES McMILLAN, U.S.S.

chitects then in annual session in Washington. The President and Mrs. McKinley gave a luncheon at noon, and during the afternoon the three addresses made at the White House in the morning were supplemented by five others delivered at a joint session of the Senate and House in the hall of the House of Representatives. There was a military procession and the city was decorated. In the evening a public reception was held at the Corcoran Art Gallery.

Among the speakers at the White House was Colonel Theodore A. Bingham, the Officer in Charge of Public Buildings and Grounds, who presented a plan for enlarging the President's House.[1] From a fund of $15,000 appropriated by Congress, Colonel Bingham paid for the White House plans and also for a plan of the Mall from the Capitol westward to the Potomac, together with a parkway connection with Rock Creek Park. Senator McMillan, at whose instance the item had been placed in the appropriation bill, expected that the entire sum would be used for a much-needed careful study of the park system of the District; and naturally he was chagrined when the bill came from the conference committee with the item so changed as to prevent the realization of his hopes. The American Institute of Architects strenuously opposed both the White House and the Mall plans, for reasons obvious to any person trained in architecture; and the schemes found no popular favor.

The subject of the improvement of Washington was already in the air when the centennial was celebrated. At the meeting

[1] *Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Seat of Government in the District of Columbia*, p. 61. Compiled by William V. Cox. Washington, 1901.

of the American Institute of Architects held coincident with the celebration, a number of papers on that subject were presented, according to a programme arranged by the secretary, Glenn Brown, of Washington, a profound and indefatigable student of Capital history and lore; a man of historic sense and feeling and of sound taste; and withal a person who combined modesty with persistency.[1]

Now it so happened that among those who shuddered at the proposed mutilation of the White House was William E. Curtis, one of whose letters each morning occupied the first column on the first page of the "Chicago Record," no matter in what part of the world the writer might be. Mr. Curtis had been associated with Frank Millet in the publicity work of the Chicago Fair, and naturally he was a believer in Mr. Burnham. He proposed to Colonel Bingham that the White House plans be submitted to Mr. Burnham for suggestions. The impulsive Colonel first said yes and then said no; and so rode fast to a fall from which an architect would have saved him. Mr. Curtis had telegraphed for Mr. Burnham and then had been forced to stop him on the way, much to his own chagrin.

On March 8, 1901, the Senate adopted a resolution intro-

[1] Glenn Brown, more than any other one person, stimulated the architects of the country to take an interest in reviving the L'Enfant plan of Washington. Later his indefatigable pursuit of those who would mutilate that plan has caused him Congressional disfavor, indeed, but the appreciation of those sincerely interested in the right development of Washington.

The papers were by Robert S. Peabody, president, A.I.A.; Joseph C. Hornblower, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., C. Howard Walker, Edgar V. Seeler, Glenn Brown, H. K. Bush Brown, Cass Gilbert, George O. Totten, Jr., and Paul J. Pelz. See *Papers Relative to the Improvement of the City of Washington.* Compiled by Glenn Brown, with an introduction by Charles Moore. 56th Congress, 2d Session, document 94.

duced by Mr. McMillan, authorizing the Committee on the District of Columbia to consider the subject and report plans for the development and improvement of the entire park system of the District, with authority "to secure the services of such experts as may be necessary for a proper consideration of the subject," the expenses to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.[1] The day after the resolution passed, Senator McMillan asked his secretary whom he wanted as an expert and the reply was, Mr. Burnham, of Chicago. To the suggestion the Senator agreed, saying laughingly that several years previously he had been involved in a misunderstanding over a hotel building in Detroit for which Mr. Burnham had prepared plans at the behest of Mayor Pingree. The latter had assumed that Mr. McMillan would furnish the money, and when he demurred at going into the project, Mr. Burnham rolled up his plans and departed. However, he supposed Mr. Burnham had forgotten the circumstance.

For himself, Senator McMillan said, he desired Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. He did not know Mr. Olmsted, but presumed that the young man was as able as his father, whom he had secured to design Belle Isle Park in Detroit. These two were to select a third. The choice of Mr. Burnham and Mr. Olmsted was made in accordance with the rule the Senator had laid down as the result of his business experience: Whenever

[1] The fact that this resolution was passed at an executive session of the Senate and did not have the concurrence of the House was the occasion of attacks on the plans by Representative Cannon and others. Had the expenses incurred been limited to $15,000 as anticipated, the contingent fund would not have been depleted as it was, several times over. Had Senator McMillan lived, his influence would have been able to prevent the attacks from becoming serious. There is no limit to the possible conjectures. The fact remains that the plans have survived and are being carried out.

the task is important, get the most capable advice possible — and then follow it.

At the request of Mr. Moore, who was acquainted with the White House episode, Mr. Curtis asked Mr. Burnham to come to Washington. Meantime, the legislative committee of the Institute was informed of the selections and, on March 19, a hearing took place between the representatives of the Institute [1] and Senators McMillan and Gallinger.[2] Mr. McMillan outlined the undertaking and asked for recommendations. Mr. Boring, chairman of the Institute Committee, thereupon recommended Mr. Olmsted for landscape work and Mr. Burnham as one of two architects. Whereupon Mr. McMillan, with a twinkle in his blue eyes, said: "I think that is a very practical suggestion, and I may say that you could not suit me better personally. . . . Those gentlemen can study the question between now and next December and submit privately to this committee a plan which will cover the matter of parking for the city, and incidentally suggest where the public buildings should be placed. . . . The men you speak of would be the men I myself would have selected, if I were asked to select them. Mr. Burnham and Mr. Olmsted are just the men I would have selected, from my experience and knowledge of the matter."

[1] Representing the American Institute of Architects were Robert S. Peabody, president; Glenn Brown, secretary; William A. Boring, chairman of the committee on legislation; George B. Post, of New York, G. F. Shepley, of Boston, E. B. Green, of Buffalo, Frank Miles Day, of Philadelphia, of the committee; and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., of Boston, J. C. Hornblower and James G. Hill, of Washington. See *Park Improvement Papers*, No. 5. Washington, 1903.

[2] The sub-committee that handled the investigation was made up of Senators McMillan, of Michigan, Gallinger, of New Hampshire, and Martin, of Virginia, with Charles Moore as clerk.

FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED, JR.

On March 21 Mr. Burnham arrived in Washington about 6 P.M., as his Diary states. "Was met by Mr. and Mrs. William E. Curtis; dined with them and spent the evening. Met there Mr. Charles Moore, private secretary of Mr. McMillan, chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia. Came to Washington on the business of which McMillan has charge — beautifying the city." That night he was offered and he promptly accepted the chairmanship of a commission to consist of himself, Mr. Olmsted, and a third member to be selected by them. "Who has been considered for the other architect?" Mr. Burnham asked. "That is for you and Mr. Olmsted to decide," was the answer; "but if your choice should fall on Mr. McKim it would be very gratifying." "Charles McKim," replied Mr. Burnham, "is the man I had in mind. He was the one I most relied upon in the Chicago Fair work. I will talk with Olmsted and will see McKim in New York and report."

The next day Mr. Burnham spent in Washington with Senator McMillan and Mr. Olmsted, leaving in the afternoon for Annapolis.[1] Recurring to the Diary:

March 23. Took the train about 6.50 A.M. for Baltimore; went to the Continental Trust Building; called on the president of the B. and O., but did not find him. Spent the rest of the forenoon with Mr. Warfield and men at the building; took noon train for New York. Went to the Holland House. Dined at Century Club and spent the evening at Charles McKim's with John La Farge; bed at 1.30 A.M.

The result of the interview Mr. Burnham reported in the following letters:

[1] Where Hubert Burnham was preparing to enter the Naval Academy.

D. H. B. to Charles Moore

(No date)

DEAR MR. MOORE: Mr. McKim agrees to act in case the work be not done in Boston. As Mr. Olmsted has agreed with me that it shall be done in Washington, that point is covered.

Please send copies of everything you think we can use, to each of us. I especially desire a copy of the Parsons suggestions[1] and of the studies made long ago by Bulfinch.[2]

D. H. B. to C. F. McKim

March 27, 1901

MY DEAR MR. MCKIM: I have your formal note dated at Philadelphia, and am delighted. The prospect of working with you adds very much to the pleasure of living, as you know. Your influence on my life has had for me an indescribable effect; one for which I have always felt thankful.

[1] Plans for the treatment of that section of the District of Columbia situated south of Pennsylvania Avenue and north of B Street, S.W., and for a suitable connection between the Potomac and the Zoölogical Parks. By Samuel Parsons, Jr., landscape architect, New York. See *Report of the Centennial Celebration*, p. 324.

[2] Charles Bulfinch, Architect of the Capitol from 1818 to 1829.

CHAPTER XI

THE UNITED STATES SENATE PARK COMMISSION

1901

MR. BURNHAM was now embarked on a work, national in scope, which was destined to occupy time and thought and energy during the remainder of his life. The money sacrifice was comparatively unimportant to him; for his practice and his investments made him independent. But the demands on vitality caused by travel, the intrusion upon home life, and the struggles to overcome opposition, whether ignorant or prejudiced, were the heavy price paid for serving the country and the various cities that called upon him. For none of these services would he accept compensation; for one reason because he would never put forward any but the ideal solution of a civic problem, and if he gave his services he felt that he had the right to present his subject exactly as to him appeared best. If compromises were expedient at the time of execution, at least the record should show what ought to be done.

Of course it was neither possible nor necessary that he give up his private business; but henceforth he must speed the machine. So we find him driving ahead.

March 24. Took 7.40 train for Philadelphia. Called on Pennsylvania people and lunched with President Cassatt. Then called on Nicholson, and then took the 4.30 train for Chicago. Found a telegram at Altoona asking me to stop off at Pittsburgh.

March 26. Stopped at Pittsburgh at 1.30 A.M., went to

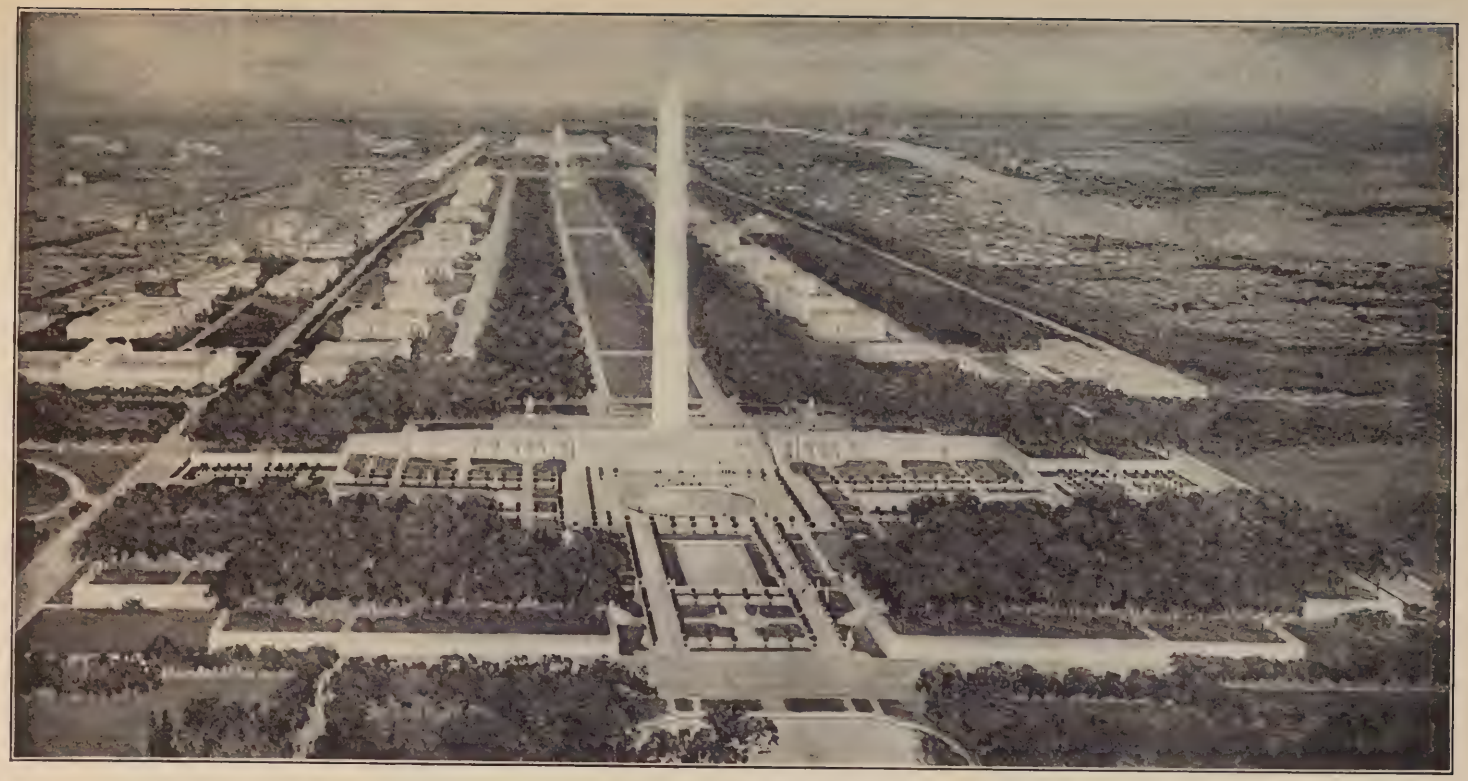
Duquesne Club. Up at 8; went during the day to see Frick and George Oliver and the Pennsylvania depot; also saw the Committee of the Exposition Company, Handy, Winter, Fitzpatrick, and Ripley. Dined at the club with Oliver and took 7.30 train for home.

March 31. (Sunday.) At home all day. Went with Curtis Remy to Charles Deering's to see his new picture by Zorn.

April 4. Arrived in N.Y. at 6.30 P.M.; went to the Plaza Hotel and there found Mrs. Burnham and Margaret and the Burnets. Went with Charles McKim and Stanford White to a ballet; bed at 12 P.M.

April 5. Arrived in Washington at 2 P.M. and drove to the location of the Obelisk [Washington Monument], and then up to the Senate Committee room, but was too late to get in. Drove on East Capitol Street and back to the Arlington. McKim and Olmsted came in. Spent the evening at the Cosmos Club. Commission of which Burnham is part drove to the Obelisk-Capitol axis; visited the Capitol and met Moore; then took car (private trolley) for Anacostia and Cabin John Bridge. Evening at Cosmos Club.

It is not the habit of artists to approach their tasks too abruptly. The luncheon hour at Cabin John Bridge was spent almost entirely in a discussion of the Harvard Stadium, which Mr. McKim had designed, while Mr. Olmsted was interested in the landscape setting. Mr. Burnham insisted that the opening should be towards Charles River, since the Greeks always built their stadia with the opening towards the water. On the way back Mr. Burnham abruptly said: "I have talked the matter over with Senator McMillan. The four of us are going to Europe in June to see and to discuss *together* parks in their relations to public buildings — that is our problem here in Washington and we must have weeks when we are thinking of nothing else."



WASHINGTON: THE SENATE PARK COMMISSION PLAN OF 1901 FOR THE TREATMENT OF THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT GROUNDS AND THE MALL

April 6. Visited Arlington. McKim and B. dined with William E. Curtis.

April 7. Burnham and friends spent all the morning on the Potomac. Lunched at the Congressional Library (at Librarian Putnam's Round Table) and spent the afternoon with Secretary of War Root, General Dodge, Senator Wetmore and Colonel Bingham (the Commission on the Grant Memorial). Visited Senator McMillan at his house.

Apropos of the trip to Europe, Mr. Burnham wrote:

D. H. B. to C. F. McKim

April 10, 1901

My dear Mr. McKim: . . . You may remember that I spoke to you about going abroad this summer. I don't know how it will be possible for us to properly do this enormously important work which has been entrusted to our hands unless we make an effort to refresh our minds for the sake of it, and how else can we refresh our minds except by seeing, with the Washington work in view, all those large things done by others in the same line? A foreign trip would be less necessary to you than to me, but even in your case it cannot fail to afford you inspiration; and surely the Government, and especially our great Uncle George, has the right to expect of us the very best we can give. While making such a trip we probably can settle many of the important things, and I have no doubt that our time will be actually saved by thus journeying together for six weeks.

I should like to leave here soon after the first of June, and I suggest that you obtain transportation for all four, advising the others in regard to your action.

I am not a very good sailor, at least in the beginning of a journey when the weather is bad and before I get my sea legs on. I, therefore, would like to have the best possible quarters obtainable, for which I would be willing to pay extra, or whatever it may cost. If you and I could have a stateroom together, it would please me, not alone for the comfort of it but because it would insure me your society, which is a thing I look forward to constantly.

April 18. Arrived in New York from Pittsburgh, with Lovejoy and Schwab; went to Fuller office, met Black and others and saw Frick there. Arrived at Philadelphia at 11 P.M. and met Nicholson at his office in Land and Title Bank, and stayed until 11.45 P.M., taking his order for a new 22 story building on the site of the La Fayette Hotel. Took train for Washington at midnight.

April 19. Breakfasted at the Arlington with McKim and young Olmsted. Went to the Senate Committee rooms[1] and spent day and dined with Senator McMillan and sixteen others at his house.[2] Left Washington at midnight on the Lighthouse steamer Holly, Captain Ross, U.S.N., with McKim, Olmsted and W. E. Curtis.

The trip was arranged with Lyman J. Gage, Secretary of the Treasury, by Mr. Curtis. The purpose was to visit some of those estates in Virginia and Maryland which furnished the precedents familiar to Washington and Jefferson, and thereby continued in this country the architectural traditions established by Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren in England.

The first stop was made at Stratford Hall, a firmly set brick structure on the bank of the Potomac in Westmoreland County. The Stratford Hall estate of four thousand acres had been patented by Sir William Berkeley in 1663 to Richard Lee, and at his death it descended to his son Richard, a graduate of Oxford and, like his father before him, a man of first account in the Colony. His son Thomas was living in the original house when it was burned in 1729, on which sad occasion "his lady

[1] The Senate Press Gallery was secured as a draughting-room, and J. G. Langdon from the Olmsted Brothers offices was placed in charge.

[2] The guests included Secretary Gage, Secretary Root, Henry White, Secretary of Embassy in London, several Senators and men prominent in Washington affairs, the idea being properly to introduce the Park Commission and to give them social credit. The talk was entirely informal.

and child were forced to be thrown out of a window, and he hardly escaped the flames." So highly was he considered at court that Queen Caroline sent him a bountiful present from the privy purse, and with the money he built the present manor-house, probably about 1730. Lighthorse Harry Lee of Revolutionary fame, Francis Lightfoot Lee, and General Robert E. Lee were born in this house, which at the time of Mr. Burnham's visit was owned by Dr. Richard Stewart.

The next day the party put in at Yorktown and drove over to Carter's Grove and thence to Williamsburg, founded as the second capital of the Colony, because Jamestown was too accessible to an enemy coming by water. "The night was spent at a hotel kept by S——," is Mr. Burnham's laconic comment, written down probably with the intention of keeping alive a name associated with as many kinds of discomfort as can be packed into twelve hours. However, Williamsburg had its lesson; for here in outline is the plan of the Mall in Washington, with the Capitol at one end of the broad parkway, the College of William and Mary at the other end of the main axis, and the Governor's Palace at the head of the cross-axis, a location similar to that of the White House.

Call was made at Upper and Lower Brandon, an estate which was patented by James Martin in 1616 and which has been in the Harrison family since 1698. The panelled hall, with its three arches rising from Ionic columns, and the finely proportioned drawing-room were filled with Chippendale furniture that came straight from the makers to this mansion. The next stop was at "Westover," perhaps the stateliest estate in all America, once the home of that fine old aristocrat Colonel Byrd, and of his daughter, the beautiful Evelyn, who mourned

her life away in grieving for the English lover she had met at the Court of St. James, but whom her stern parent refused to allow her to marry.

Last came Shirley, the seat of the Carters, where Mrs. Bransford dispensed a hospitality so warm, so witty, and so altogether charming that the members of the party never ceased talking about it. There they found a negro fishing, and on being asked what is the best fish, he replied: "Sho, massa, de bes' fish am de black bass — always 'scusin' de white shad" — a story dear to Mr. Burnham's tongue.

May 4. H. S. Black and James Forgan met in this office at 4 P.M. and practically agreed on the First National Bank big scheme.

May 6. (Sunday.) At home all day working in Den on the Washington scheme; took little walks down to the lake and over to the Burnets, and went to bed at 8 P.M.

May 14. Arrived in Baltimore (from Uniontown) at 7.30; took train for Annapolis, arriving about 9; found Hubert, Captain Ross, U.S.N., and Messrs. McKim, Curtis, and Olmsted; all lunched with Captain Wainwright, Commandant of the Naval Academy, and dined on the Holly.

May 15. Sailed for the Eastern Shore of Maryland; called at Wye, the home of the Lloyds, and at Whitehall, the home of the Chases.

May 16. Took noon train for Washington. Spent afternoon and evening at Capitol.

May 17. Commission at work all day and late at night. Ely[1] came over and helped us out.

May 18. Worked all day at Capitol and on shore of the Potomac.

May 19. Worked up to 2.30 P.M. at Capitol; left for Philadelphia at 4.

[1] Theodore N. Ely, Chief of Motive Power of the Pennsylvania Railroad, vice-president of the Academy in Rome, a close friend of both Burnham and McKim.

Dear Burnham

McKim has just shown me confidentially the study he is making for your use of the surroundings of the Washington Monument and the Mall. I thought it so splendid and was so impressed, that I want to at once to tell you how it struck me. Great Caesar that ought to go through and if my shoulders would be of any good at the wheel let me know and I'll push till I'm blind

Faithfully
Augustus Saint-Gaudens

May 29th/1901

May 20. Saw Mr. Cassatt, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and from him received the commission to design the depot in Washington.[1] Took limited train for home at 12.30 and joined Lyman J. Gage and friends at Harrisburg; he was going to Chicago with the remains of his wife.

May 23. D. H. B. and wife left for Baltimore to see Hubert, who has to have slight operation at Johns Hopkins Hospital.

June 1. With Peirce Anderson saw Senator McMillan in his private car at Michigan Central Station in Chicago at 9 A.M.[2]

On June 5 Mr. Burnham wrote:

D. H. B. to Charles Moore

DEAR MR. MOORE: It has been apparent from the beginning that we should add a sculptor to our commission, and yet I have hesitated to do so, because there was only one name the owner of which seemed to me to be equal to the occasion. Ill health seemed to make it impossible for him to join us. To-day, however, Mr. McKim writes that Saint-Gaudens is willing to enlist in this work, and therefore I have written to Senator McMillan saying that we want him.

Hoping this may meet with the approbation of Senator McMillan, I remain, etc.

The foregoing letter was based on this communication:

C. F. McKim to D. H. B.

June 1, 1901

MY DEAR BURNHAM: Saint-Gaudens has been stopping with me since his return from Washington, and I have therefore seen

[1] Mr. Burnham had been retained by the Pennsylvania Railroad to design the Washington Station before he was selected for the Park Commission. The actual commission was given at the time mentioned above.

[2] The interview was to arrange for models showing present conditions and proposed plans, to be prepared by G. C. Curtis, of Boston. The members of the Commission financed the models at the beginning and later were repaid by the Government. This was the most expensive portion of the plans. The models are now in the National Museum.

more of him than for a long time past. We have "reminisced," as much as you might expect from two old fellows, of questionable health, past fifty, and have gone over the last twenty-five years, since I first met him, an obscure, would-be sculptor, with his first commission. Enough of histories, as you can imagine — bright and tragic, diverting and enthralling — to pass the time. Such a lot of gossip as you never heard! But besides this companionship, his visits to the office, and keen interest in the Washington work, have been invaluable, and this leads me, knowing well your sentiments towards him, to make the proposition that we join him with us, in the work of the Commission, in order that he may assist us, not only for the value of his counsel in many directions, but because the question of "SITES," demanded in our report, is one which refers as much to sculptors as to architecture, and should be determined by the highest authority in the land. I would suggest that he be made a full member of the Commission, and believe, as I am sure that you will, that the addition would materially strengthen, and add weight, in the final judgment of Congress, as well as that of the public, to the forthcoming report of the Commission. Saint-Gaudens has already so deeply manifested his interest in the outcome of this enterprise, that I feel certain, if invited to collaborate with us, that he would, without hesitation, accept. I speak thus confidently, having sounded him on the subject. If you agree, why not write Senator McMillan at once, suggesting that Augustus Saint-Gaudens be invited to become a full member of the Commission?

I will write you further, on Monday, in regard to other matters.

June 8. D. H. B. and E. R. Graham arrived in Philadelphia at 4 P.M. and went to the Bellevue Hotel. James Knox Taylor called; also Rick Olmsted and Charles Moore and wife.[1]

[1] This was the occasion of one of those suppers which Mr. Burnham delighted to give. He was at his best when seated at the head of a table dispensing an abundant hospitality, telling and listening to stories and discussing the public work in hand. He never adverted to his private business: this was one of many reticences. He had a hundred or more sketches for the

June 9. D. H. B. and Graham called on President Cassatt and Mr. Pugh; also on Mr. Brown (the Chief Engineer) and Mr. Ely. Took train for Washington with Charles McKim: they spent part of the evening with Secretary Lyman J. Gage.

June 10. Burnham and McKim spent day at the Treasury Department and Senate Press Gallery. At 4 P.M. Secretary Gage went up in the Washington Monument with party, including Olmsted and Moore; and then all went to drive and to locate the building for the Bureau of Standards.[1]

June 13. Albert Wells and D. H. B. spent the morning and went to the Deutschland together; found flowers, telegrams, and messages; sailed at 1 P.M. exactly. Spent entire afternoon and evening with McKim and our confrères, Charles Moore[2] and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., U.S. Commission for the improvement of the parks of Washington.

June 17. Played shuffle-board with McKim. Sea not very rough. Bed at 10 P.M.

June 19. Arrived at Plymouth at 9 A.M. The mileage longer than usual. Average speed on the voyage 23.38 miles, being a record-breaker. Arrived at Cherbourg at 2 P.M. Took train for Paris and arrived at 2 A.M. Spent an hour getting baggage inspected and at 3.30 we found ourselves in our rooms on the fifth floor of Hotel Continental, overlooking the Garden of the

Washington Station as a part of the new plan. The idea of placing the station on the south side of the Mall had been suggested to President Cassatt, who strongly intimated to Mr. Burnham that he had been employed to design the station, not to locate it. The design was for the old site at Sixth and B Streets; and the Commission was trying to find a way of changing the location in order to get the tracks out of the Mall, where they were located about 1872, and where they were continued in legislation then just enacted for the elimination of grade crossings, the railroads at that time having refused to consider a change.

[1] Professor S. W. Stratton, the director of the newly created Bureau of Standards, conceived the idea of going into the suburbs, and a tract of sixteen acres was purchased on the Pierce Mill road, west of Connecticut Avenue, where a great institution has developed.

[2] Charles Moore was not a member of the Commission — which consisted of the four experts. He was present at all meetings; was consulted on the application of the ideas of the members to conditions in the District of Columbia, and, with Mr. Olmsted, prepared the report to Congress.

Tuileries. From D. H. B.'s balcony all four men saw the dawn come over Paris, a sight never to be effaced from memory. We then took coffee and rolls and went to bed.

June 20. Visited the Beaux Arts and drove about Paris.

June 21. Spent the morning in the Tuileries Gardens, the afternoon in the Bois de Boulogne, returning from Suresnes by boat. Took the 10.25 train for Rome.

June 22. On cars for Rome, passing over the Alps by daylight and through the Mont Cenis Tunnel. Dinner in the café of station at Genoa; then a wonderful ride by the sea.

June 24. Arrived in Rome at 7 A.M. and went to the Hotel Quirinal. Found delightful rooms. Weather warm out of doors, but cool wind inside. Drove and retired early.[1]

June 27. Went to Tivoli by the nine o'clock train. Visited Hadrian's Villa and the Villa d'Este. Breakfasted and dined at the café that hangs over the great chasm in sight of the Temple of Vesta. Poured over the cliff into the Anio a libation to the gods and took the nine o'clock train to the city.

The Temple of Vesta was one of Mr. Burnham's delights and his fondness for its form was not disturbed by the fact that it was reproduced for a chocolate booth at the Chicago Fair. The libation to the gods was his suggestion, and when Mr. Olmsted with true New England thrift expostulated on the waste of good wine, Burnham quickly answered, "What's the matter with another bottle?"

June 29. Party including Mr. Breck,[2] artist, and Pulsifer,[3]

[1] It is true that Mr. Burnham often retired early, for he had cultivated the habit of making up the sleep that travel curtailed and disturbed. But for the others it was rare that the lights went out before one or two in the morning.

[2] George William Breck, now of New York, first winner of the Lazarus scholarship for mural painting, thereby becoming a student at the American Academy in Rome (1897–1902); director of the Academy, 1904–09. At this time he was at work on a copy of Raphael's School at Athens, for the University of Virginia.

[3] Louis Warren Pulsifer, Harvard, 1890; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1894; died, 1905.

WASHINGTON: THE SENATE PARK COMMISSION PLAN OF 1901 FOR THE CENTRAL COMPOSITION
An enlargement of the L'Enfant Plan of 1792. The essential features of the plan have been established by legislation

architectural student, breakfasted at the Quirinal Hotel, and went to the Villa Albani, but our permits would not pass us, as the day was a *festa*. Went to the Villa Madama, breakfasting *al fresco* on the way.

The Villa Madama, a Roman villa little known to travellers, was designed by Raphael on a commission from Pope Clement VII, about the middle of the sixteenth century. It was bestowed upon Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma. On this day the winds, unobstructed by door or glass, were sweeping through the great structure perched on a steep hillside overlooking the winding Tiber. The frescoes in floral arabesques by Giovanni da Undine and Giulio Romano's frieze of cherubs were slowly disappearing; wild flowers ran riot among the potato vines in the once unrivalled gardens; and over moss-covered pools delicate ferns hung caressingly. Beauty and tragedy have been the history of the villa for two and a half centuries.

The next day the party had the good fortune to be admitted to the Villa Albani, that treasure-house of antique sculpture dug from the ruins of Hadrian's Villa. During their stay they visited the private gardens of the Vatican and spent a long and happy day in the gardens of the French Academy, the Villa Medici, which Hawthorne describes in "The Marble Faun." They discussed the location of the Memorial Bridge at Washington while sitting on the steps of the circular temple in the Villa Borghese. They paid several visits to the Villa dell' Aurora, then the home of the American Academy in Rome. Mr. S. A. B. Abbott, the director, was in Venice at the time; but Mr. Breck, afterwards the director, and Mr. Pulsifer, who were spending the summer in Rome, accompanied the party on various excursions.

July 1. Arrived at Venice at 2.30; found Mr. Abbott [1] waiting for us at the depot; went to the Hôtel de l'Europe. Dined in our beautiful rooms overlooking the Grand Canal—the lady on the ball being just across the water from us.[2] The playing and singing on the canal were delightful. Went to Piazza San Marco.

July 2. Went to St. Mark's and the Public Gardens. At Salviati's I got some table glass and at another place some chair covers of old priests' robes. Mr. and Mrs. Abbott dined with us and afterwards we went out on the water to hear the singing, and returned by St. Mark's.

July 3. On the canals all day. Dined with the Abbotts at the Lido.

July 4. Final shopping in Venice. To-day we wore red, white, and blue flowers in our button-holes.[3] Had a run up the small canals back of the Grand Canal, then to Giudecca and finally, reluctantly to the depot, thinking of Tintoretto, Carpaccio, Titian — and the Abbotts! Left at 3.10 for Vienna; the ride up through Udine was most magnificent.

July 5. Arrived in Vienna quite early and went to Hotel Bristol; then called on the American Minister, Robert S. McCormick, but found he had been compelled to run back home (Chicago). He left a letter for D. H. B., with the Secretary of Legation, Dr. Herdliska,[4] who took us in charge.

[1] S. A. B. Abbott, of Boston, then director of the American Academy in Rome. Through his courtesy a gondola belonging to Mr. Curtis, formerly of Boston, the owner of one of the sumptuous palaces on the Grand Canal, was placed at the disposal of the party. On the last day of the stay, Mr. Burnham said to one of the big, handsome, brown-sashed gondoliers, "Your face seems very familiar to me." "Yes, Mr. Burnham," was the reply in fair English, "I often rowed you at night at the Chicago Fair." The Curtis palace abounded in sketches by Sargent, who has painted a picture of the drawing-room, in which old and new are happily blended. The Curtis family were absent from Venice at the time.

[2] The figure of Fortune standing on a golden ball and turning in the wind, the weather-vane on the Custom House. Compare decoration of John La Farge's stained-glass window in the Frick Building, Pittsburgh, which has a similar motive.

[3] There were many little American flags on the gondolas.

[4] Charles V. Herdliska, who devoted his entire time to the party, giving

July 7. Dr. Herdliska breakfasted with us at the hotel and saw us off at noon for Budapest. The scenery in the mountains and along the Danube was very fine. Arrived about 7 P.M. and went to the Grand Hotel, where our rooms on the second floor overlooked the Danube.

July 8. Drove through the parks, called on the consul;[1] lunched in Margaret Island Park; drove to the Buda side, and had a most delightful time. Took the midnight train (Orient Express) for Paris.

July 10. Arrived in Paris at 7.30 P.M. and went to the Hôtel Continental, where our rooms were on the rue de Rivoli, overlooking the Gardens of the Tuileries; breakfasted and had the first batch of letters and a telegram from A. J. Cassatt. Went to the Luxembourg Gardens, with the great fountain in the centre; dined at the Café des Ambassadeurs.

July 11. Went to Versailles by train and spent the day.

July 12. McKim and Burnham went out with H. C. Frick to see the pictures at Knoedler's; drove to the new (Orleans) station; went to the opera in the evening — "Romeo and Juliet."

July 13. Went to Fontainebleau and spent the day, lunching and dining at the café opposite the palace; arrived at the hotel at 11.30 and talked over McKim's new commission — the Governor's Island[2] work till 1 o'clock.

July 14. Party went to Hôtel des Invalides in the forenoon;

a dinner in the Prater in Mr. McCormick's name, arranging with the major-domo of the palace and the superintendent of the gardens at Schoenbrun for a long day, taking the party to the English Gardens where "The Belle of New York" was being given, and winding up the night at a garden café, where the summer population was out in force, and expressing regret at 3 A.M. that the party were "no sports," because they sought their beds so early! At his instance the mayor of Vienna received the party in his rooms at the Municipal Building. Dr. Herdliska was supplanted soon after and finally obtained a post in Peru, where he committed suicide through disappointment over his political treatment.

[1] Frank Dyer Chester.

[2] Governor's Island, New York Harbor. The main questions were the project of gaining additional land by filling in shallow water, and the preservation of the old buildings.

lunched in our rooms and spent the afternoon at Versailles. D. H. B. took train at 7.30 for Frankfort, taking with him Venelli, the courier.

July 15. Arrived in Frankfort at 7 A.M.; drove in the park (Wald) and inspected the magnificent new depot; called on the consul; but found only the chief clerk who promised to send plans of the depot.[1] Took train for Berlin at 9.30.

July 16. Arrived at Berlin at 7 A.M., and went to the Hotel de Rome; had telegram from Graham saying that stocks were falling fast. Drove through Thiergarten; called on Consul-General Mason; drove to the Zoo — all before luncheon. Left for London at 9.30.

July 17. D. H. B. and Venelli arrived at Flushing in Holland about 10 A.M. and took the boat for Queensboro, reaching that place about 7 P.M.; took train for London; arrived about 10 P.M. and went to Berkeley Hotel, where they found McKim and Moore; Burnham and Moore took a walk; all three retired after midnight.

July 18. Called on Mr. Cassatt at 2.30 and then went to Hotel Cecil to call on E. H. Power and wife; they drove together in Hyde Park until 5.30. Moore and Burnham dined in their rooms and Rick Olmsted arrived at 12 P.M., when all went to bed.

The interview with Mr. Cassatt was momentous. In substance he told Mr. Burnham that since the Commission left the United States the Pennsylvania Railroad had acquired a controlling interest in the Baltimore and Ohio; that if Congress really intended to improve the Mall, he would be willing to give up the present advantageous location of the station and build a union depot on the Baltimore and Ohio site at the corner of New Jersey Avenue and C Street, provided Senator McMillan would undertake to obtain an appropriation of

[1] Mr. Cassatt had asked Mr. Burnham to examine the Frankfort station, which Mr. C. regarded as the finest in the world.

$1,500,000 in part payment of the tunnel under Capitol Hill, which would be made necessary in order to maintain passenger connections with the South. The proviso seemed to the Commission no obstacle, and they felt that the foundation was now laid for an ideal development of Washington. The good news was duly celebrated at dinner.

July 19. The party went with Mr. Henry White (Secretary of Embassy) to call on the American Ambassador, Mr. Choate; then drove to Holland House, where they were shown through the mansion and grounds by Lord Ilchester, the owner. Lunched at the Carlton with Mr. White and a member of the County Council. In evening D. H. B., with Olmsted and Moore went on the omnibus down Piccadilly to the City. D. H. B. lost his pocketbook; notified the police; bed at 1 A.M.

July 20. D. H. B. went to Union Bank of London, and thence to Scotland Yard, where he found his pocketbook.[1] Entire party went to Oxford and spend afternoon there; reached hotel at 11.30 and talked an hour or more about President's house and grounds.

July 21. (Sunday) Breakfast (celebrating the finding of the pocketbook) at the Star and Garter, Richmond; then to Bushy Park and Hampton Court, finishing the day on the Thames.

July 23. At Oxford and Eton. John M. Ewen came to dinner. Went to the play in the evening.

July 24. D. H. B. and Charles Moore went to the Tower of London, Westminster Abbey, and the Royal Gallery.

July 25. Party, with Secretary of Embassy, Henry White, went to Hatfield by train; were met by Lord Salisbury's carriage and driven through the grounds, and afterwards were taken through the house.

July 26. Took boat train at 9; Deutschland sailed from

[1] The pocketbook was dropped on the top of the omnibus, was found by the conductor and turned in. The conductor received more than the fee he was legally entitled to — ten per cent of the contents up to five pounds.

Southampton at noon; late in the day the wind came up and it blew hard; retired at 10 P.M.

July 29. D. H. B. up early and took a walk on deck; read until noon; lunched in the grill; played shuffle-board with McKim and Olmsted; then with them worked on the plan of the Mall, returning to D. H. B.'s suggestion.

July 30. Up early for a walk. Spent the morning with McKim over the Mall and suggested that we place the President's House on the site of the old (Naval) Observatory; all of us lunched in the grill-room; played shuffle-board with McKim in the afternoon. A very beautiful day.

August 1. Arrived in New York at 10 A.M.; went to the Holland House with John Burnham; then to the Fuller Company; took 5.30 P.M. Limited for home.

The European trip accomplished the purposes intended. For seven weeks the party kept steadily at work. Mr. Olmsted's tin case of Washington maps and plans was always at hand; his ever-ready kodak missed no important object; and his file cards recorded heights and breadths with method and without end. Everywhere the party took their meals together in their common room, where they would sit late into the night discussing the lessons of the day. Paris revealed itself as a well-articulated city — a work of civic art. Versailles, Fontainebleau, Hampton Court, examples of the use of a long stretch of water, tree-lined, furnished ideas for the basin between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial, and the latter monument took its place as the completion of the main axis. Vaux le Vicomte, Compiègne, Schoenbrun, Hatfield House, and Virginia Water gave inspirations for the treatment of the Mall. A close study of Lenôtre's work in France, together with reflections of it in other countries, revealed subtleties and perfections applicable to the American work. In Rome the mem-

The Château

The Gardens, with C. F. McKim on the steps

VAUX LE VICOMTE, NEAR MELUN, FRANCE

bers were brought face to face with things eternal. All that man had done to express his nature in highest terms had been gathered there during the ages. The fleeting, the transitory, the ephemeral, the self-assertive, the struggle for originality, all seemed to drop out of mind, leaving a desire to discover and to use in the work of a new nation those forms which have satisfied age after age of men. For Rome itself is the gathering-place of precious fragments of civilizations that were old even before the city of Romulus and Remus was founded. And yet to-day it is a vital, progressive city.

Over and over again during these days there would come to Mr. Burnham's lips, as he looked off over the many domed city, the words that seemed a summation of his life-philosophy: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

August 11. (Sunday.) D. H. B. spent the morning making a water-color on the beach; and in the afternoon with his wife and daughter Margaret went riding and called on the Harpers at Glencoe, the Sears at Kenilworth and, after tea, on Mrs. Burnet.

August 15. D. H. B. and Peirce Anderson arrived in Pittsburgh; visited Lovejoy and Kinch; visited the Frick Building, Oliver Building, the depot, the new Exposition; lunched and dined at the Duquesne Club; took automobile drive with Kinch and left on the night train for Washington.

August 16. Went with Rick Olmsted to Rock Creek Park and to the Capitol for lunch. D. H. B. dined with Secretary Gage and Senator Newlands and ladies at Woodley. Took train for New York.

August 17. D. H. B. and Anderson breakfasted at the Holland House, then went to the Fuller office and afterwards to see McKim. D. H. B. took train for Webster, Massachusetts: arrived about 6 and found Albert Wells waiting there; went to his house in Southbridge.

August 18. Spent the day with the Wells people. Fished in the pond till dark.

August 19. Took 9.30 train for Boston, and went to Concord to see the Middlesex School; came back and went with McKim and Olmsted to see the Curtis models (of Washington).

August 20. Went with Olmsted and McKim to Manchester to lunch and dine with Senator McMillan and came in about 10 P.M.

The afternoon was spent at "Eagle Head" on the wide veranda overlooking the sea, where report of the European trip was made and plans for the future discussed. Besides the four travellers there were at dinner Mrs. and Miss McMillan,[1] Senator Allison, of Iowa, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations; and Mr. T. Jefferson Coolidge, a neighbor, whose son-in-law, Mr. Thomas Newbold, accompanied the party on their visit to Holland House. Senator McMillan introduced Mr. Burnham as "General Burnham," and repeated the reference in spite of Mr. B's disclaimer of military rank. When the dinner had well progressed, Senator McMillan called to Senator Allison, saying, "Senator, perhaps you have noticed that I have persisted in calling Mr. Burnham 'General.' He does n't like it; but I want to say to you that a man who could persuade President Cassatt to take the Pennsylvania Railroad out of the Mall, *deserves* to be a general." There was much more than a joke in the remark: it was the Senator's method of impressing upon his all-powerful colleague his own high appreciation of the work Mr. Burnham had already accomplished.

September 6. President McKinley was shot by an anarchist at Buffalo at 4 o'clock to-day.

[1] Now the wife of Colonel Sir John Harrington, of London, former British Minister to Abyssinia.

September 14. D. H. B. and Peirce Anderson met J. G. Schmidlapp at his home (Kircheim) in Cincinnati for breakfast. They with Taylor [1] and Gest [2] spent part of the day at the Art Museum.

September 15. Arrived in New York and spent part of the day at McKim's Washington workroom with Partridge [3] and Olmsted; took midnight train for New Bedford.

September 16. Arrived at New Bedford and took the Gay Head for Nantucket. Went to J. B. Sherman's, where found Mrs. Burnham and Dan.

September 17. Went sailing in Captain Pease's catboat for bluefish, but without luck. Stayed out all day, and on returning found Ethel and Margaret.

September 21. Spent day with Hubert in Annapolis; returned to Washington and found W. H. Harper there.

September 25. Arrived in New York; found Mrs. Burnham and Margaret at Holland House. Saw the Fullers and Miss White; they and the Baldwins dined with us. McKim and Saint-Gaudens lunched with D. H. B. and Stanford White came in. Margaret went to Dobbs Ferry and we saw the Fullers aboard the Bismarck.

September 26. D. H. B. and wife took 7.25 train for Philadelphia; found Graham at the Bellevue; B. and G. met Cassatt and staff at his office and settled about the Washington depot. D. H. B. and wife took afternoon train for Washington.

September 27. D. H. B. and wife took drive and she went with him to the Press Gallery. Mr. and Mrs. Harper dined with us. [4]

[1] William Watts Taylor, president of the Rookwood Pottery.

[2] Joseph Henry Gest, director of the Cincinnati Art Museum.

[3] William T. Partridge, under whose direction the Washington drawings were prepared.

[4] Mr. W. H. Harper, of Chicago, was employed by Mr. Burnham to prepare the report of the Commission and worked faithfully at the task. Not being familiar with Washington, his work was done at a disadvantage; and it seemed best to entrust the writing of the report to Messrs. Olmsted and Moore.

From Washington, Mr. Burnham wrote this report of the conference referred to in the Diary:

D. H. B. to Senator McMillan

SIR: At a meeting yesterday with Mr. Cassatt and his staff, in his office, the Pennsylvania Railway passenger station in the city of Washington was discussed.

He feels the great advantage of the location on the Mall, which his company has obtained only after ten years' constant work, and which is satisfactory from a railway point of view. He says that he could not consider any other location, were it not for the present friendly relations between the Pennsylvania and Baltimore & Ohio Railway Companies. In view of these friendly relations, however, he is willing to consider a union passenger station, for both roads, on the site granted by Congress to the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company. Pursuant to his order, studies for such a station were made and were considered in the meeting referred to above; and, the scheme being found practicable, Mr. Cassatt authorized me to state to you that his company is willing to adopt it and give up its holdings on the Mall, provided they can secure the proper compensations and enactments on the part of the Government.

This scheme involves a tunnel under the Government plaza lying between the Capitol and the Congressional Library; it also involves the condemnation of the two blocks lying between the said plaza and C Street North, on which latter the new station will face. This condemnation is necessary because the station and its surroundings should be treated in a monumental manner, as they will become the vestibule of the city of Washington, and as they will be in close proximity to the Capitol itself.

A meeting has been arranged, for Saturday morning, for Mr. Loree, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company; Mr. Brown, chief engineer of the Pennsylvania Railway Company; and myself. We are to inspect the site together and

report to Mr. Cassatt, and I do not anticipate that any difficulties will develop.

Mr. Cassatt requests that you will have the proper chief engineer of the Government meet the Pennsylvania Company's chief engineer, Mr. W. H. Brown, as soon as possible, in order that they together may agree on the details; and, as soon as the engineers report, he hopes you will honor him with a meeting at which the terms of the bill to be introduced in December can be agreed upon between you.

The Pennsylvania Railway Company have shown in this whole matter a disposition to consider public rights which is unusual; and I know of no precedent on the part of a great railroad company which equals it. We are to be congratulated that we have had Mr. Cassatt to deal with; and I have felt authorized to assure him that you will meet him in the same spirit of justice and liberality shown by himself.

Yours respectfully

D. H. BURNHAM

September 29. McKim came in at breakfast and stayed all day.

October 12. Arrived in Cincinnati; saw Schoepf and McGowan at the Traction offices at 2.45 and spent the rest of the afternoon with young Foraker and Schoepf regarding plans. Dined at the St. Nicholas with the two Forakers, Schoepf, and Warrington, and took the 8.35 P.M. train for Chicago.

October 18. On train to New York. Worked with Anderson and Harper in stateroom on Washington documents. Lunched with Secretary Gage, Mrs. Chatfield-Taylor, and Mrs. Coleman.

October 19. Left New York for Philadelphia at 7.25 A.M.; saw William H. Brown and President Cassatt and Mr. Nicholson. Arrived in Washington at 6.30 and met Saint-Gaudens, McKim, and Harper at the New Willard.

October 20. Saint-Gaudens, McKim, Anderson, Harper, and Burnham spent the morning at the B. & O. site and in the Senate Press Gallery.

October 21. Burnham and party, including Saint-Gaudens, McKim, Olmsted, Anderson, Harper, Waldo Story, and S. A. B. Abbott, spent the entire day and evening together. McKim gave the dinner at the New Willard. A portion of the day was spent in an informal hearing held at the Senate District Committee room, on the subject of the suburban parks. Mr. Burnham, Mr. Olmsted, and Mr. Moore discussed with the president of the Board of District Commissioners, Mr. H. B. F. Macfarland, and with Mr. S. P. Langley, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the rectification of the Rock Creek Park boundaries and the need of a new National Museum building.[1]

October 22. Same party dined at Mrs. Henderson's.[2]

October 23. Three of us settled the Agricultural Department competition and wired Olmsted, who had gone home. Gave the job to Lord & Hewlett,[3] of New York.

October 25. Senator Cullom lunched with party. McKim, Abbott, and Saint-Gaudens left in the afternoon. Moore dined with me.

November 17. (Sunday.) D. H. B. stayed at home all day and evening, never leaving the house. Theodore Thomas and wife, Charles Fuller, and Mrs. Woodyatt came to dinner at 2.30.

November 23. In Cincinnati with Messrs. Schoepf and Foraker from 9 till 11 A.M.; and from 3.30 till 5 P.M. with Schmidlapp, and at his house with trustees of Museum till train time.

November 24. Arrived in Pittsburgh at 6.30; spent the morning in the Frick Building with Kinch, Clark, and White; spent the afternoon with Harry Oliver concerning his ground on Wood and Sixth Streets.

November 26. D. H. B. moved into the Union League Club for a week's work.

[1] This hearing forms Park Improvement Paper No. 11.

[2] The dinner was given to the Commission by former Senator and Mrs. John B. Henderson at their home, Boundary Castle. The trustees of the Corcoran Art Gallery were present and arrangements were made to use a portion of the gallery for the exhibition of the drawings and models illustrating the Washington plans.

[3] Owing to one of the usual disputes between the Government and the architects as to fees, the commission was taken from Lord & Hewlett and given to Rankin & Crane, of Philadelphia.

WASHINGTON: THE SENATE PARK COMMISSION PLAN, 1901; SHOWING THE McKIM DESIGN FOR THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL, THE MEMORIAL BRIDGE LEADING TO ARLINGTON (RIGHT), AND THE PARKWAY (LEFT) CONNECTING POTOMAC AND ROCK CREEK PARKS

From a rendering by Carlton T. Chapman

November 28. (Thanksgiving.) At the office all day and at Mrs. Lord's for dinner; slept at home.

November 29. At Union League Club working on Oliver plans.

December 1. D. H. B. and Peirce Anderson spent the forenoon in Pittsburgh with Messrs. Frick, Clark, Kinch, White, and others; lunched with Mr. Frick. B. saw Mr. H. W. Oliver in afternoon and took a job for him; 80 x 240, corner of Wood, Virgin Alley, and Fifth Street, Pittsburgh.

December 2. D. H. B. and Anderson spent the day in Washington at the District Commissioner's office. B. went to Philadelphia at 4.10 and spent the night with T. N. Ely at Bryn Mawr.

December 3. D. H. B. breakfasted at Ely's house, then came in and boarded President Cassatt's train for Washington, where he found Mr. Cassatt and Mr. Brown. They ran from 8.10 A.M. to Washington in 2 hours and 25 minutes, some of the way at 80 miles an hour. McKim, Olmsted, and Abbott came. Party met Senator McMillan in Senate District Committee room and then inspected the new depot site.

The site talked about for the union station was at the corner of C Street and New Jersey Avenue, the land between the Capitol and C Street to be purchased for a plaza. This location involved carrying through Massachusetts Avenue (one of the great thoroughfares of the city) in a tunnel; and Mr. Burnham was anxious both to avoid this and also to secure a location better related to the Capitol. On November 10 he wired Charles Moore:

Feel that meeting in Washington between President of Railway and Senator McMillan will settle depot site north of Massachusetts Avenue. Can you bring it about?

Mr. Burnham's hopes were justified, and at the meeting on December 3 the new location was decided upon, subject to a

solution of the problem of grades. The difficulties are discussed in this letter.

D. H. B. to Charles Moore

Chicago, December 13, 1901

DEAR CHARLES: Since we returned, the question of the location of the Pennsylvania depot was again to the fore. The engineers made some difficulty because of the fill required. But Mr. Anderson went back to see Mr. Cassatt, and has returned this afternoon, and everything is now in good shape. I again beg that the District engineers shall raise no questions, and that they shall heartily assist in carrying through the design.

The Government is to fill and finish the Grand Court in front of the depot. Of course, this will cost some money, but it is for the adornment of the city, to produce a vestibule in keeping with the Capitol, and is as important as the work around the Monument in the Mall.

The railways can get along without this Grand Court, but we cannot. It is essential to the broad scheme of improvement, and is for the dignity and beauty of the city, and should be provided for in the railroad bill, so that work on it can proceed early this year.

Mr. Brown, the chief engineer of the Pennsylvania Company, proposes to have an interview with the Engineer Commissioner and his staff at once. I hope there will be no hitch in their meeting, on which will depend the exact details of the bill.

Mr. Burnham in Chicago was working on the designs for the railway station which was to be the very foundation of the improvement of Washington. The removal of railroad tracks from the Mall was prerequisite to the restoration of the great conception of L'Enfant. Moreover, the treatment of a station as one of the monumental public buildings of a capital city was novel in this country — novel to both the public and the railways.

Mr. McKim and Mr. Olmsted, with the counsel of Mr. Saint-Gaudens, were supervising matters in New York, where the Curtis models and the drawings were being completed under the direction of William T. Partridge. The strain of getting the work done on time was such as to create an *esprit de corps* which found expression in numerous diversions and in caricatures by Githens and others.[1]

At what he considered the proper time, Mr. McKim had launched a new project. Plans and drawings, he argued, mean nothing to the lay observer, and not much more to the professional. In order to carry conviction, drawings must be rendered. For this task the best illustrators in the country were none too good. But they were working for the monthly magazines, and the art-editors must be induced, for patriotic reasons, to give them their time to do a national work. All this McKim, in his plausible way, explained to Senator McMillan, one September day; and the Senator smiled his appreciation of McKim's clever presentation of the scheme, and assented to it in a phrase that had become customary with him: "Go ahead. If the Government will not pay for it, I will."

Thereupon Jules Guérin and Otto Bacher, Carleton T. Chapman, Sears and Percival Gallagher, F. L. V. Hoppin, Bacon, Blum, C. Graham, Curtis, McCarter, Rodeman, and Ross, called from their regular tasks, were set at work rendering architectural drawings and making models to create an art exhibition; and so well did they execute their subjects that

[1] Those employed in the New York office included Messrs. Baer, Butler, Chapman, Crow, de Gersdorff, Elliot, Harmon, Johnson, Kaiser, Merz, Morris, Mundy, Shephard, Trueblood, Walker, and Weeks.

after twenty years the pictures are still exhibited with satisfaction to the beholder.

In Washington work in the Senate Press Gallery continued with accelerating speed under the leadership of James G. Langdon, assisted by R. A. Outhet and E. A. Douglas. In this office the outlying areas were mapped and considered with the aim of making throughout the entire District of Columbia a well-articulated park system, and even extending the project to Great Falls on the upper Potomac and down that river to Mount Vernon.

Meantime, the report to be made by the Park Commission to the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia was being prepared by Mr. Olmsted and Mr. Moore, who gathered a wealth of photographs of significant European works to supplement the reproductions and drawings. The report of the Senate Committee transmitting the Commission report to the Senate and giving a history of the undertaking, together with unqualified approval of the new plans, was written by Mr. Moore, and was unanimously approved by the Committee.[1]

The question of a suitable place in which to hold the exhibition having come up during the recess of Congress, former

[1] The Senate Committee on the District of Columbia was made up of James McMillan, Michigan (chairman); Jacob H. Gallinger, New Hampshire; Henry C. Hansborough, North Dakota; Jeter C. Pritchard, North Carolina; William M. Stewart, Nevada; William P. Dillingham, Vermont; Addison G. Foster, Washington; George L. Wellington, Maryland; Thomas S. Martin, Virginia; Stephen R. Mallory, Florida; Henry Heitfeld, Idaho; William A. Clark, Montana; Murphy J. Foster, Louisiana.

The document is: 57th Congress, first session, Senate Report No. 166, The Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia: I. Report of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia. II. Report of the Park Commission. Edited by Charles Moore, clerk of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902; pp. 171; with illustrations and maps.

COAT-OF-ARMS OF THE SENATE PARK COMMISSION

1901

(Saint-Gaudens, McKim, Burnham, Olmsted)
Caricature by A. M. Githens

Senator and Mrs. John B. Henderson gave a large dinner at their home, Boundary Castle. There the members of the Park Commission met the trustees of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, and during the evening a sufficient portion of the Gallery was offered for the purpose; and the offer was gladly accepted. The opening took place on January 15, 1902. During the previous night almost until daylight Charles McKim completed the installation of 197 separate exhibits. Half the night he was on a step-ladder, giving just the right placing or inclination to drawing or photograph. In the center of the floor-space stood the two Curtis models, one showing existing conditions from Capitol to Lincoln Memorial site; the other expressing in striking manner the entire plan for the great central composition; and there were small models of the Monument Garden and other features.

The superb renderings in color, many enlarged photographs of illustrative scenes and the drawings themselves made an array that quite carried away the visitor. No such presentation had ever been made in this country.

Senator McMillan, Senator Gallinger, and other members of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia received the guests. There came President Roosevelt, interested, curious, at first critical and then, as the great consistent scheme dawned on him, highly appreciative. Secretary Root had been consulted from the inception of the work. Secretary John Hay was especially interested in the location and design of the memorial to Lincoln, each of which he regarded as inevitable. Secretary Hitchcock was particularly interested in the fountains, the play of waters recalling Versailles and Peterhof. There were senators and members of the House, and a few

other invited guests. Thereafter the galleries were opened to the public.

Mr. Burnham was not able to be present during the last days. On January 22, 1902, he wrote to Mr. McKim:

D. H. B. to McKim

DEAR CHARLES: The display in Washington was beyond my expectations, and although I realized that it would be impressive I was unprepared for its effect on me. I congratulate you on the success of your work. It is greater than I dared hope for. The only disappointment arose from Curtis's model of the Mall as it is proposed to be. Its unfinished condition is responsible for this. He could in a day bring it up and I hope he has done so ere now. . . . I notice you have made the plaza in front of the station a half-circle. I should have liked this and so drew it at first, but it is impracticable, and no other form out of fifty tried meets the requirements as does the one sent the Engineer Commissioner. . . . After another fit of fear and trembling I asked Mr. Cassatt to let me lower the depot twenty-odd feet. It was in the bill prepared by the engineers +66, the Capitol being only about +86. This made me fear the competition of the two structures. Mr. Cassatt not only agreed, but gave us praise for a more sensible railway solution. I think we may get it down to nearly +40. We are nearly there now.

Ely said that you and he felt that I am doing too much for my work and myself. All I know is that I am doing better work than I did in the years that are gone, and that I do my work easier.

The plans submitted to the Senate District Committee and by that Committee reported to Congress were professedly and actually a reinstatement of the L'Enfant plan of 1792, so enlarged as to bring into the arrangement Potomac Park, thus extending the main axis and creating a central composition

dignified, beautiful, and of great extent. The chief element was a new main axis rectifying the mistake or oversight of the builders of the Washington Monument. This was accomplished by drawing a line from the dome of the Capitol through the Monument and prolonging it to the Potomac, with a memorial to Abraham Lincoln as the terminal feature. The cross-axis from the White House southward was re-created by the location of a great fountain on the line west of the Monument, and a terminal group of buildings on the banks of the Potomac.

The new plans contemplated not only the improvement of the Mall and the Monument grounds, but also driveways, boulevards, and park connections throughout the entire District of Columbia; the reclaiming for park purposes of the Anacostia Flats; the acquisition of additional park areas in those portions of the District ill-provided with such breathing-spaces, and the development of areas already possessed and awaiting improvement. There were boulevards to Mount Vernon and Great Falls, and park treatment for the Palisades of the Potomac.

When one recalls the setting of many foreign capitals and their flat topography, one realizes that with so superb a beginning, and with the majestic Monument in a vista closed by the Potomac and the Virginia hills, the possibilities for beautiful treatment of Washington were unequalled. The plans opened the way to realize these possibilities.

From the Capitol Hill to and up the Washington Monument slope, a mile and a half distant, two lines of stately elms march majestically in column of fours, one column on each side of a carpet of greensward three hundred feet wide. Buildings of

white marble gleam behind the rows of elms. Thus, by a device of planting, the Monument is brought into the vista of the Capitol.

The Monument would rise from a plane instead of a mound. This plane, as extensive as the piazza in front of St. Peter's in Rome, is flanked by elms carried on terraces. Broad marble steps on the western side lead down to a formal garden enclosed by wooded terraces; and from this garden the broad opening leads to a long canal, tree-bordered, as at Versailles. Nearly a mile away, where the axis meets the Potomac, is a great *rond-point* surmounted by a Doric structure commemorating the one man in our national history who is worthy to stand with Washington — Abraham Lincoln.

From this point of divergence a memorial bridge leads straight across the Potomac to the terraced slopes of Arlington, surmounted by the temple-like mansion, which, once the home of Robert E. Lee, now stands sentinel among the thousands of graves of Union soldiers. From the same point of departure one road leads up the river to the valley of Rock Creek, and thence to the great park which takes its name from that stream; while a second drive extends down the Potomac to the park formed by the engineers in reclaiming malarial flats, and now devoted to the sports of the people.

Again, from the portico at the rear of the White House the eye looks off over, first, the circular parade-ground, and thence over the garden at the foot of the Monument, which is treated as an adjunct to the towering needle, thus establishing the reciprocity between the two structures that now is missed by reason of the construction of the Monument off the axis. The space still farther to the south, between the garden

WASHINGTON: THE SENATE PARK COMMISSION PLAN OF 1901; SHOWING THE MALL SYSTEM FROM THE CAPITOL WESTWARD TO THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL, AND FROM THE WHITE HOUSE SOUTHWARD TO A GROUP OF BUILDINGS TO BE DEVELOPED

On the right is the Anacostia Water Park; on the left the Parkway leading from the Lincoln Memorial to Rock Creek and thence to the Zoölogical and the Rock Creek Parks. The Memorial Bridge in the left foreground leads to the Arlington Military Cemetery

and the Potomac, is arranged with basins for swimming and boating.

Fronting on the White Lots, as the parade-ground is called, public or semi-public buildings may well be placed. The spaces fronting on Lafayette Square were to be occupied by buildings for the Departments of State and of Justice, and by such other monumental structures as the growing needs of the Republic may demand.

In the plans, historic Pennsylvania Avenue has its south side lined with such structures as the municipal building of the District of Columbia, a modern market in which the space is ample to accommodate the traffic now done on the public streets, and a hall of records for storing in safety Government archives. And the Capitol grounds, too, should be faced only by public buildings, of which the number already built or projected was sufficient to complete the square indicated by the Capitol and the Library of Congress.

The return to the original type of treatment for the development of the Mall was not determined without most careful consideration. In the Borghese Gardens, on the broad terraces of the Villa d' Este, amid the still splendid ruins of Hadrian's Villa, on the Grand Canal at Venice, on the magnificent Maria Theresa Platz at Vienna, on the swift Danube curbed between miles of stone quays at Budapest, in the Gardens of the Luxembourg, and amid the splashing fountains of Vaux-le-Vicomte, the Commission threshed out many a perplexing problem.

The plans attracted wide attention and commanded admiration. The designs were published in this country and in Europe in the daily newspapers, popular magazines, and architectural journals. They were regarded as a magnificent vision, a New

Jerusalem, to use Charles Eliot Norton's phrase. The most optimistic regarded them at best as something to be attained if at all in a dim and uncertain future. The pessimistic shrugged their shoulders at the cost — $200,000,000 they figured — and predicted that the magnificent scheme would never get beyond the pictures. They miscalculated the spirit and capabilities of the American people, and the inherent capacity of a truly great plan to arouse the spirit necessary to realize it.

CHAPTER XII

WASHINGTON PROBLEMS; THE CLEVELAND PLAN

1902

THE Union Station in Washington began to take shape early in 1902. Burnham had made a hundred or more quick studies for a station on the old site at Sixth and B Streets; but now the entire conception had changed. President Cassatt had asked Mr. Burnham to go to Frankfort to study the station in that city, which he considered the finest railway station in the world. The Washington depot was to be still finer, because of larger opportunities. Facing one of the great avenues of the capital, it was to have as landscape setting a plaza capable of a development that should rival the Piazza di Termini in Rome.

Moreover, the new station by reason of proximity was to bear distinct relations to the Capitol itself. These relations must be such as to subordinate a building of less intrinsic importance, but of great size, to the chief structure of the Nation. The dome of the Capitol must dominate without question. There must be no repetition of the architectural oversight made in designing the Library of Congress, where a golden dome challenges the great dome of the Capitol, like a child breaking in on his parent. Also there were nice questions of grades, of design, and of material. Then, too, the station was to accommodate the seven railroads entering the District of Columbia; in fact as in sentiment it was to be the gateway to the capital of the United States. Special arrangements should be made

for the accommodation of the President, for high officials and distinguished guests of the Nation, lest there be a repetition of the Garfield tragedy, which occurred in the old Pennsylvania station. Then, too, the space must be ample for handling the military and naval organizations and the crowds that double the population of Washington with each recurring inauguration. The problems were such as the World's Fair experience presented. Here again was opportunity for the exercise of creative imagination. Burnham saw the Washington station taking its place among the commanding and essential public buildings of the city. The concept was a novel one; he pondered it in his mind and determined to realize it.

There were three elements to deal with. First, the railroads, already committed to an expenditure of ten millions for the elimination of grade-crossings and the revision of freight terminals, must be brought to add another four millions, only a small portion of which expenditure would be revenue-producing. The idea that railroads should expend money simply for the purpose of ornamenting a city naturally met with opposition on the part of some of the interests involved. Those officials openly scoffed at the idea, and proclaimed that their ideal was the London station — a shed for sheltering passengers from the elements. The interior should consist of billboards, yielding revenue to cut down the losses suffered from passenger traffic. However, President Cassatt could be relied on to take care of his railroad associates.

Then there was Congress. The proposition to pay the railroads a million and a half of dollars for vacating a public space which they used by favor of the Government found opposition, especially among those who thought to win favor with

WASHINGTON: SHOWING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CAPITOL AND THE UNION STATION

Also (lower right) the House Office Building, the Library of Congress, (centre) the Senate Office Building, and (opposite the latter) the temporary war-housing buildings occupying the space reserved for the Congress Gardens

their constituents by posing as economists in Washington. There was opposition to a tunnel under Capitol Hill, lest the excavation should endanger the Library of Congress. There was some opposition also to the Park Commission, but as yet this had not become formidable.

Again, the people of the District raised objections to paying damages to property injured and for property purchased in the construction of the plaza. The great space required a very considerable fill, thereby changing grades on adjoining streets. These objections were taken to Congress. Here Senator McMillan's wide railroad experience was potent. He had built the Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic Railroad and when he entered the Senate he was its president: during the twelve years of his senatorial career he had won a reputation in both houses of Congress for intelligent and disinterested labors on behalf of the District. All the influence he possessed and all his patience and time were devoted to obtaining the consent of Congress. The plans were in his committee room, and one by one he brought Senators in to see them, explaining each detail that was questioned.

Senator McMillan, after patient and persistent labors extending over a period of ten years, had secured the passage of legislation eliminating grade-crossings in the District of Columbia. That he was willing to revise his own project and undertake the arduous labor of carrying new legislation through Congress measures his estimate of the excellence of the plans, and, incidentally, his devotion to the interests of the District of Columbia.

All these arrangements and adjustments took Mr. Burnham to Washington frequently. On January 27 the Diary says:

Arrived in Washington at 8.30 and went to the Senate to meet Senator McMillan and Moore; then to the White House to meet President Roosevelt; and back to the Senate for a conference with Senator McMillan, Moore, and Colonel Biddle,[1] Engineer Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

Here the leading question was of grades, the District being interested in keeping grades down to save expense; and Mr. Burnham being willing to place the station low, so as to subordinate it to the Capitol, but at the same time having to look out for a sufficient height to accommodate railroad activities.

February 24. Was going on the 5.30 P.M. train to New York to attend the breakfast to Prince Henry of Germany; but at 1 P.M. heard that Mr. J. B. Sherman was low; went to his house and spent the night.

Mr. Sherman died the next day. His death removed one of Mr. Burnham's earliest supporters, with whom he had sustained close and confidential relations both as son-in-law and as friend.

On March 16 Mr. Burnham brought the revised station plans to Washington and went over them with Senator McMillan. That evening he, in company with Peirce Anderson and Charles Moore, went to Philadelphia for a conference with Mr. Cassatt. In the evening every conceivable angle of the situation was talked over at a Bellevue dinner which lasted until well into the morning. The next day, in his office in the Broad Street station, Mr. Cassatt assembled Mr. Loree, president of the Baltimore and Ohio; Mr. Brown, chief engineer of the Pennsylvania Railroad; Messrs. Burnham and Anderson;

[1] Colonel John Biddle, U.S. Corps of Engineers, who was the Engineer Commissioner of the District of Columbia from 1901 to 1907. He was afterwards major-general and acting chief of staff, U.S.A.

Colonel Biddle, representing the District of Columbia; and Charles Moore, representing Senator McMillan. Mr. Loree opened by opposing any change from the B. & O. location to the Massachusetts Avenue site; he was vigorous and sarcastic, and was very much in earnest. Then Mr. Cassatt asked for the suggestions from Washington as to any changes in the general scheme. Each suggestion he referred to Mr. Brown, and if the engineer said that the change was physically possible, he ordered it made. Dignified, quiet, accommodating, seeing always the end in view, Mr. Cassatt quickly disposed of the various matters. Then he led the way to his luncheon-room, where a long table was spread daily for the accommodation of such vice-presidents as might be in the city, and those persons whose business might be expedited by the informal talk about a well-spread table. His simple, agreeable manners and a certain quiet affability readily won his guests. He seemed farthest from the typical brusque, incisive, unyielding railroad president; and perhaps his greatness lay partly in the fact that he had not only imagination, but also the ability to gain his ends without creating antagonisms.

From this luncheon Burnham and Moore hurried off to the neighboring office of Theodore N. Ely, where Charles McKim was waiting to have a conference on American Academy in Rome matters,[1] the immediate object being to raise funds for pressing necessities. The object being attained by contributions of one thousand dollars by Messrs. Burnham, McKim, and Ely, and the other affairs of the Academy having been well discussed, the way was cleared for a good dinner.

[1] Mr. McKim was the president of the Academy; Mr. Ely was vice-president; Mr. Burnham was a director, and Mr. Moore was the secretary.

On the 10th of April, Burnham was in Washington as one of the jurors in the competition to secure a sculptor and architect for the memorial to General Grant, for which Congress had appropriated $250,000, up to this time the largest amount ever set aside by the Government for a work of sculpture. The other jurors were Charles McKim, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and Daniel Chester French.

In the course of the discussion of the many models assembled in the State, War, and Navy Building, Mr. Burnham said to Saint-Gaudens, "I have been impressed with your treatment of the hands in the standing figure of Lincoln in Chicago." "Yes," replied Saint-Gaudens, "good hands will often redeem a bad figure, and bad hands will kill a good one."

One model took the fancy of Saint-Gaudens to the exclusion of all others: on the right a cavalry charge in the round; on the left as a balancing group, a battery coming into action. In the centre on a high pedestal, an equestrian figure of Grant, his horse keenly alive to the battle, but he himself coolly observing the combat. So carried away was Saint-Gaudens with this conception that he unhesitatingly placed it first and argued the matter with much vehemence. The others readily fell in with this suggestion. When it was found, on examination of the sealed envelopes, that the successful man was the young and almost unknown Henry Merwin Shrady, of Elmsford, New York, the jurors advised that his ability be tested further by having him develop his idea in a larger model, in competition with Henry Niehaus, who had won second place. Later the jurors were satisfied of Mr. Shrady's ability to carry out his design and the commission was awarded to him. The associated architect was Edward P. Casey.

WASHINGTON: THE UNION STATION AND (LEFT) THE POST OFFICE, BOTH DESIGNED BY D. H. BURNHAM & CO.

The jury urged that the Grant Memorial be located on the west front of the Capitol, at the head of the Mall, according to the new plan, instead of south of the White House as called for in the programme of competition. This was eventually done by Congress, and the location became and to this day has continued to be a bone of contention.

Charles McKim telegraphed on April 17: "President heartily approves both temporary and permanent office propositions." At this time McKim was being consulted by President and Mrs. Roosevelt in regard to putting the White House in order. Mrs. Harrison, when mistress of the Executive Mansion (then the pretentious appellation of the building that started the nineteenth century as the President's House), had plans for its enlargement prepared in the office of Public Buildings and Grounds. These plans, presented by Colonel Bingham in 1900 at the celebration of the centennial of the removal of the seat of government to the District of Columbia, met almost unanimous opposition because they involved building wings inharmonious in themselves and destructive of the integrity of the historic building.'

Burnham advocated using the house for the executive offices and building a residence for the President on the hill to the west, the site of the old Naval Observatory now used by the Public Health Service. McKim had such a reverence for the White House as "a gentleman's home of its period," that he favored retaining it as the residence of the President and the construction of temporary offices at the end of the west terrace, to be occupied until such time as Congress should provide for permanent offices to be located in the centre of Lafayette Square. During the session then in progress, Congress provided

appropriations for the restoration of the White House and the construction of temporary offices in accordance with the McKim idea.[1]

To McKim's telegram Burnham replied:

My dear Charles: Have just received your telegram, and as you know I am extremely pleased. Nothing could be better. I wish you would have the Secretary of War bring about an interview between myself and the President on the same subject, because I have something to say regarding this matter that I do not care to send through you. An analysis of the conditions can be so stated as to leave no doubt, and no alternative other than building in Lafayette Square.

On April 30 McKim wrote from New York this characteristic letter:

Dear Daniel: Your note from Annapolis smells of the Spring, and your picture of the blooming maidens and the slender-waisted midshipmen makes me miserable — the more so that I am unable to take the train down to Annapolis, with the inexorable conditions of fate and the office staring me in the face! I look forward to Mead's return two weeks hence for a chance to break away for a few days, but until then, a day off for golf now and then, to keep in condition, is the best I can do.

Whether this will reach you or not is doubtful, but I send it on its way, to let you know how much I valued your congratulations on the Railway Station here,[2] a work unsought, and which came as a complete surprise. They should have given it to you, and I fully expected that they would. Just after the

[1] "The Restoration of the White House," article by Charles Moore in the *Century Magazine*, April, 1903. Also Senate document No. 197, 57th Congress.

[2] McKim, Mead & White received the commission to build the Pennsylvania station in New York. Mr. Cassatt telegraphed Mr. McKim in Washington to meet him in Philadelphia. "I supposed," said McKim, "he wanted a new stoop to his house; instead he asked us to design the New York station."

interview Newhall (with whom I lunched) told me that they employed a New York man as a question of policy, and I ascribe our appointment solely to this cause.

P.S. I expect to be in Washington on Sunday and Monday, and write in case you can get away from the young men and maidens of Annapolis, do come over.

P.P.S. The only other building higher than your Fifth Avenue & 23rd Street building that I have ever heard of is the Tower of Babel.[1] They are adding at the rate of about a story a day, and there are four more stories, they say, to go.

The McMillan bill, embodying the change in the location of the station from the Mall to the Massachusetts Avenue site, passed the Senate on May 15, much to Mr. Burnham's relief and satisfaction. "The design," he wrote to Senator McMillan, "has constantly grown and is now pretty nearly satisfactory."

Congress adjourned for the summer without the House taking action on the bill. To McKim, Burnham wrote, on July 11:

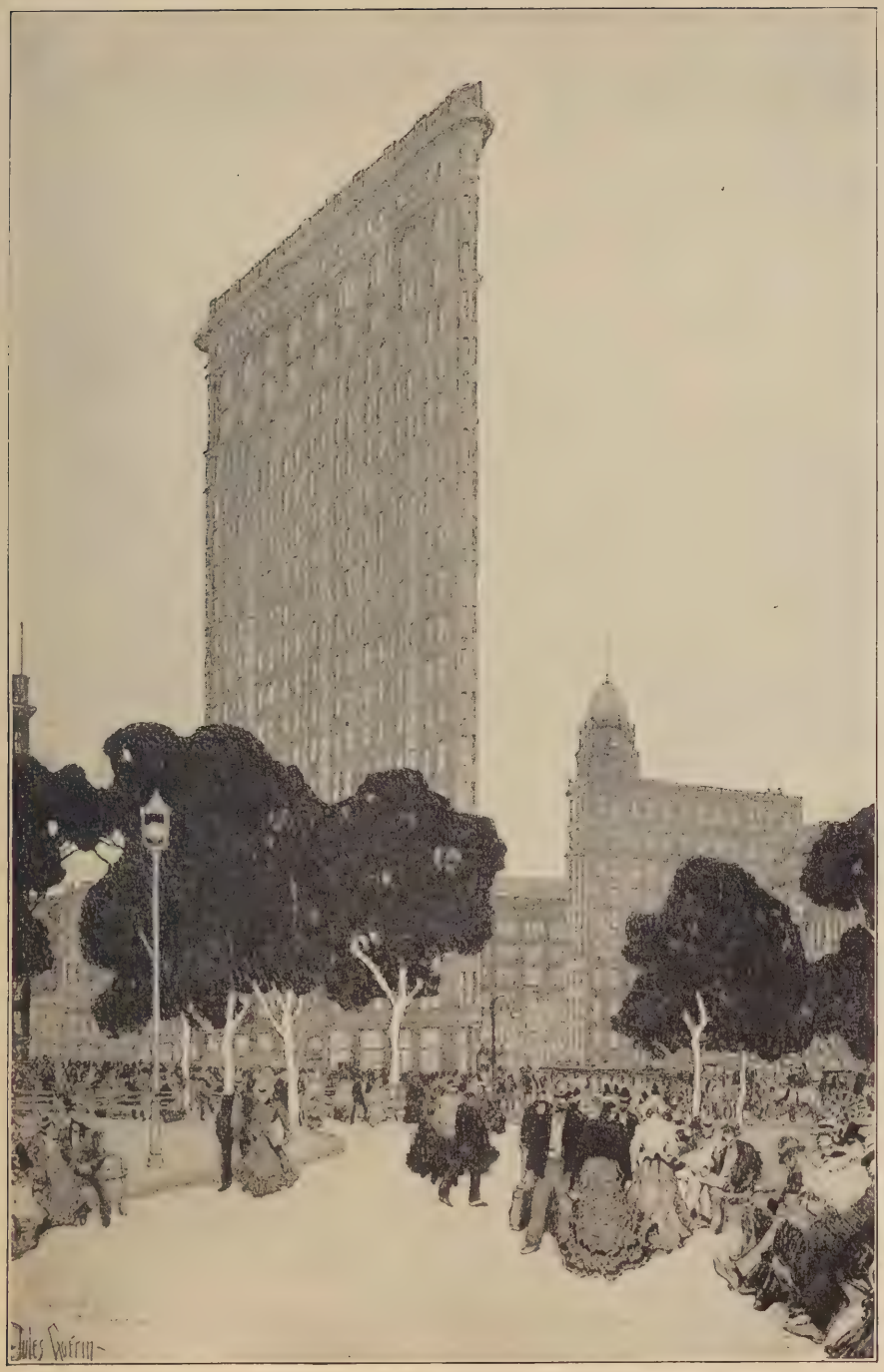
You are right in supposing that I am overjoyed to obtain the extra six months on the Washington station. It was not in the least a disappointment. I wrote to Senator McMillan as soon as I heard, telling how I felt about it. It would give me very great pleasure to have you go over the drawings. They are not very voluminous, but they would interest you because the logic of the entire conception, and also of its separate parts, is shown in the continuous studies. I do not think I shall feel any more willing to begin the work a year from now than I am at the present time. I assure you the national character of it gives me a constant "fit of ague." I will see you as soon as I can. It may be in a few days or a few weeks.

[1] The Flatiron Building, the first of New York's sky-scrapers, and for a time the tallest building in the world. Mr. McKim's office at 160 Fifth Avenue was so located that his windows commanded a view of the work.

Mr. Burnham was now engaged on an undertaking so large and of so permanent a nature as to call out the very best that was in him. He felt keenly that he was doing service on behalf of the Nation, and that there should be no compromises for expediency's sake. Mr. McKim, too, had been called into national service not only in the matter of the restoration of the White House, but also, at the instance of Secretary Root, in planning the War College and Engineers' School of Application. Mr. Burnham had been commissioned to design the station before he became a member of the Senate Park Commission; but the work took on a new importance by reason of the Commission's plan. Mr. McKim came into Government service by reason of his commission work and his personal acquaintance with President and Mrs. Roosevelt and Secretary Root.

In June Mr. and Mrs. Burnham enjoyed a few days at Eagle Nest, near Oregon, Illinois, with the Lords and Atken Burnet, all of whom were guests of the Grovers, Lowdens, and Clarksons, with Wallace Hickman's four-in-hand as vehicle of passage and pleasure. On the 26th, however, Mr. Burnham was in New Orleans discussing with J. W. Castle a building for the Southern Trust Company.

Cleveland having taken up the matter of creating a civic centre, the Mayor and the Governor of Ohio appointed as a plan commission Mr. Burnham, John Carrère, and Arnold Brunner. Mr. Burnham had already been engaged by the railroads to plan a union station on the Lake Front to be built whenever the city and the roads should reach an agreement as to property rights; and Mr. Brunner had won the competition for the Federal Building, which was to form an element in the



THE FULLER (FLATIRON) BUILDING, NEW YORK
From a drawing by Jules Guérin

civic centre. The Commission met on July 15, 1902, at Cleveland and organized by the election of Burnham as chairman and Brunner as secretary; the commissioners were to serve two years with a salary of five thousand dollars each. After meeting representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, the architects and various public bodies, for the purpose of securing data, the Commission departed to study the problem.[1]

Towards the end of July Mr. Burnham snatched three days to sail on the Manitou for Charlevoix, where he and Mrs. Burnham visited E. C. Waller and family. The time was occupied in sailing in the Squaw and playing golf. The first week in August was spent in conference with Henry G. Foreman, president of the South Park Commissioners, Mr. Higginbotham, Mr. Dibble, and the representatives of Marshall Field, on the matter of the location of the Field Museum. On the 4th Mr. Jones, Mr. Field's private secretary, turned over to Mr. Foreman Mr. Field's letter accepting for the museum a location either in Grant Park or on the Lake Front; and on the 6th "H. Dibble came over and we settled on the plan of the Field Museum." On the last day of the month an order came from Mr. Field for a warehouse.

In the early hours of August 11 Senator McMillan died suddenly at his summer home, "Eagle Head," at Manchester, Massachusetts. In an instant the originator and chief supporter in Congress of the Park Commission was taken away. Henceforth the Plan of 1901 would have to stand on its own intrinsic merits without an avowed supporter in the Senate and

[1] The Board of Supervision of Public Buildings and Grounds in the City of Cleveland, generally known as the Group Plan Commission, was appointed by Governor Nash on June 20, 1902.

with Mr. Cannon, the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, as its determined and resourceful enemy. Mr. Cannon always took delight in thwarting what he considered raids on the national treasury. His special grievance against the Park Commission was that it was created by the Senate alone, without the consent of the House, and he was fond of referring to it as an illegitimate child. Perhaps the best explanation of Mr. Cannon's attitude is to be found in a remark he made some years later to Colonel William W. Harts, the executive officer of the Lincoln Memorial Commission: "The trouble with you fellows is that you begin your kindergarten too late!" When once Mr. Cannon was convinced as to the fineness and logic of a project, he was ready to fight for it.

Mr. Burnham telegraphed to Charles Moore:

My dear Charles: The sad news of Senator McMillan's death was in the morning papers. I am thinking of you. From my own attachment to him on a slight acquaintance, it is plain that yours must be great, and I deeply feel for you. Write me when you can, dear Charles, and be sure of lasting sympathy in this and all other things that may touch you.

Affectionately

D. H. Burnham

Mr. Burnham went over to Detroit on the 14th, the day before the McMillan funeral, and spent the day with Charles Moore, planning for the future. At the request of the McMillan family, Moore was to remain as clerk of the Senate District Committee until the railway legislation should be completed, so as to finish the particular task which the Senator had in hand.

On October 27 Mr. Burnham wrote to Moore that he had found Mr. Cassatt only too willing to build on the Massachu-

setts Avenue site. The chairman of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, Mr. Babcock, advised that the bill be passed by the House for the C Street site, leaving the question of the exact location to be settled in conference. This would obviate the difficulties arising from the fact that Mr. Cannon, being opposed to the plaza, could and probably would block consideration of a bill which provided for the Massachusetts Avenue site. Mr. Burnham explained the matter to Secretary Root, who agreed with Mr. Babcock.[1]

Burnham and Anderson were in Washington on October 23, where they had two interviews with Secretary Root, and then with Glenn Brown they went to Rock Creek Cemetery to see again the Saint-Gaudens sculpture, with the architectural setting designed by Stanford White, as a memorial to Mrs. Henry Adams.

On August 17 Mr. Burnham was again in Cleveland with his colleagues for meetings with Mayor Johnson and the Common Council relative to the civic centre. On September 3 Charles Norton, Walter Fisher, and Frederick Delano called to ask him to speak before the Merchants' Club on the Washington plan, evidently with the ulterior motive of getting Burnham to do some such work for Chicago. On September 14, while on the train bound for Southbridge to visit his daughter, President Bancroft, of the Union League Club of Chicago, discussed with him the matter of a new club building and they decided to put the project on its feet.

John Wanamaker appeared in Chicago on September 23; and after a breakfast at the club and a visit to the Art Institute

[1] Representative J. W. Babcock, of Wisconsin, who handled the railroad bills in the House with tact and skill.

he and Mr. Burnham, accompanied by Ernest Graham, took the train for Philadelphia; and the next day Mr. Wanamaker decided to build his Philadelphia store in granite and urged haste in the preparation of plans.

On September 26 Burnham met the McKinley Memorial Committee in Buffalo, to advise them as to the site of the monument to be erected to President McKinley. He formulated his suggestions, and sent copies to McKim and Saint-Gaudens, asking them to reply directly to George E. Matthews, secretary of the committee. McKim wrote on November 10 to Matthews that after a careful examination of the plans and photographs of Niagara Square, Buffalo, together with Mr. Burnham's reports and suggestions regarding the treatment of the proposed McKinley memorial monument, to be placed in the centre of the square, he had been so much impressed by Mr. Burnham's views that he had no additional suggestions to offer. "Mr. Burnham has given the subject evidently careful study, and I should place implicit reliance in his judgment in this matter."

The Diary records:

October 22. Lunched with Wallace, general manager of the I.C.R.R., Foster, superintendent of the South Parks, and John Olmsted [1] over the Lake Front scheme; then went on foot to inspect Grant Park.

October 24. Breakfasted with the Commercial Clubs of Chicago and Cincinnati at the Planters Hotel, St. Louis;

[1] John Charles Olmsted, son and partner of Frederick Law Olmsted, and half-brother and partner of Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. The firm designed the park system of Boston, Essex County, New Jersey; Chicago (South Parks), Buffalo, Rochester, Hartford, Louisville, Milwaukee, Seattle, Spokane; and the grounds of the expositions at Chicago, Seattle, Portland, Oregon; and Winnipeg. John Olmsted died February 24, 1920.

PEIRCE ANDERSON

lunched at the Fair Grounds with Director of Works Taylor. Dined at the St. Louis Club as guest of the Fair officials and the St. Louis Commercial Club.

October 27. Judge Grosscup, John M. Clark, and Henry Foreman lunched with me regarding the Lake Front.

October 28. Marshall Field called and looked at the Lake Front sketches with Henry Dibble.

October 29. Saint-Gaudens, Stanford White, John M. Clark, Commissioners Best, Walton, and Foreman in the office until noon regarding the placing of the Lincoln statue on the Lake Front.[1] Lunched at the Chicago Club with Deering and spent the afternoon with the above committee and artists in South Park. Dined at Club with John M. Clark, Saint-Gaudens, Judge Grosscup, and Stanford White, and rode home in Charles Deering's automobile.

November 9. D. H. B., E. R. Graham, and Peirce Anderson spent the day at the Pennsylvania Railroad offices; lunched with President Cassatt. The latter asked again our terms; told him our price was five per cent on cost of building and yard, and in addition the travelling expenses of ourselves and our men. He said that was his understanding. We to design buildings for power-plant and express and mail block, as well as all work south of H Street.

November 17. D. H. B., Ernest Graham, and Peirce Anderson went to Wanamaker's construction department office. Mr. Wanamaker accepted the exterior (Florentine style) with the exception of proposed Chestnut Street doorway, which Burnham was to change. He also accepted the plan with some slight changes around rear of carriage entrance, said changes to be made that night.

November 18. Burnham, Graham, Anderson, Duell, Haddock, and Hough all day at Wanamaker's. W. came in before lunch and accepted the work, elevation, and plans of lower part, except as to sections showing the sub-basement, basement, and basement "entresol" heights. Burnham and Gra-

[1] The seated figure of Lincoln for which Mr. Crerar left a bequest of $50,000.

ham lunched with Wanamaker in his private lunch-room. Young Wanamaker joined them at lunch. No conversation occurred at lunch regarding details of the building. Young Wanamaker said to his father: "You do the merchandising and I will do the building; otherwise I want nothing to do with it." This was the only reference made to the work in his presence. In the afternoon, the sections of basement were made, submitted to Mr.Wanamaker by Graham and approved of by W.

December 23. D. H. B. at home all day; only went out for half an hour with daughter Margaret to buy some flowers. Reception of Mrs. B. and Margaret, occasion of M.'s "coming out" — 375 people called.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WEST POINT PLAN

1902–1903

ELIHU ROOT, when Secretary of War in President Roosevelt's Cabinet, invited Mr. Burnham to enter a competition for the commission to design the new buildings at the United States Military Academy at West Point. Secretary Root had been and is an uncompromising promoter of the Washington Plan; and yet Mr. Burnham felt constrained to decline the invitation. In a letter to Mr. Root, dated October 29, 1902, he stated his objections to the programme of competitions as, first, because the selected architect is not to control his own work; and, secondly, because the fees proposed are much below those paid by private clients.

I do not see how an architect who cares for his reputation [he wrote] can allow himself to be separated from the carrying-out of his designs; and in justice to his regular clients he could not do the work for less than is invariably paid by them. Plans, details, and the absolutely necessary supervision which an architect must give in any case are charged for at the rate of five per cent on the cost. I see nothing in the act which precludes the payment to the successful man of this regular fee, if the Department so determines. The proposed payment of $5000 per annum for supervision is ample.

To this letter Secretary Root made answer:

I enclose a copy of the letter recently sent by me to Colonel Mills, to enable him to answer some questions put by Carrère & Hastings regarding the West Point plans. It may clear away some of the difficulties which you see in the way. The

statute under which we are proceeding is very curiously framed, as statutes which are altered in committee are apt to be. The limitations on the employment of architects had their origin in a feeling on the part of Congress that the architect at the Naval Academy was being paid too much. There was no doubt that Congress intended to prevent the work being done on the five per cent basis. They sought to accomplish this by cutting the process of improvement into two perfectly distinct parts; first, the making of plans which was to be completed before any work was done, and, second, the work of construction, including, of course, all superintendence, which was not to begin until the plans were complete, and in relation to which no architects were to be paid anything except $5000 a year for the consulting architect.

We are now engaged in the effort to get the best possible plan. The competition now proposed in the submission of general preliminary plans is really a way of selecting the architect who shall make the complete plan.

On the understanding contained in the letter from Secretary Root, Mr. Burnham decided to enter the competition. The other competitors were Cope & Stewartson, Philadelphia; Hines & La Farge, Carrère & Hastings, Charles C. Haight, New York; Peabody & Stearns, Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, Boston; and Eames & Young, St. Louis. McKim, Mead & White accepted the invitation, but did not compete, possibly because, as stated in a letter from Stanford White to Burnham, dated November 24, 1902, "a certain newspaper critic with intense prejudices and predilections appears to be the guiding spirit in the affair, and this critic is in favor of, and would impress upon the competitors, the adoption of the style of the Library and the surrounding Gothic buildings, or the battlemented buildings of Richard Hunt, in order that harmony of style shall prevail. Of course it goes without saying that har-

VIEW OF MILITARY ACADEMY, WEST POINT, FROM THE CHAPEL

mony should prevail; but that an architect should feel on entering the competition that he would suffer if he made his buildings in harmony with the Cullum Memorial and Officers' Mess and Quarters, or the West Point Battle Monument, or his own ideas, would, it seems to me, make any architect of independence of thought withdraw from the competition."

After mature reflection Mr. Burnham decided upon a plan of action quite in keeping with all his public work. He would make a deliberate study of the entire problem and present what seemed to him the ideal solution, regardless of the question of winning the competition. In working out his ideas he needed a young man who could catch his spirit and fix on paper his conclusions. It happened that Edward H. Bennett, who had been a friend of Peirce Anderson at the École des Beaux Arts, was then working in George B. Post's office in New York. Bennett was invited to accompany Mr. Burnham to West Point.

The visit was made on a glorious spring day in 1903, and on the way up from the ferry, Burnham called attention to the stately cedars, which, he said, were characteristic of the place and should be considered in the design. Together they climbed the hills and went from place to place seeking the natural axis of the site. On that the plan was based. While waiting for the return train Burnham described in detail one of the Piranesi drawings, which he believed was inspired by Gray's "Elegy." The day was a fascinating one for Bennett and made him desire to work with Burnham. The connection then formed lasted throughout Mr. Burnham's life.

Of the Burnham plan Stanford White wrote, on May 8, 1903:

I am much pleased to hear that your scheme contemplates the removal of the old buildings, and even the moving of Cul-

lum Hall. I think we all ought to impress on the Secretary of War that, whatever is done, there should be one great whole concentric scheme; and I intend writing them that either the Cullum Memorial and its group should be torn down and removed, or that the old Gothic buildings should be torn down and removed, as in no other way can a great scheme be adopted for the Campus. Please, you do this too, because, if the style is not to be classic, I think, for the sake of the whole scheme, the Cullum Memorial and its adjacent buildings should be taken away.

Won't you also say that, in your opinion, the Officers' Mess has been finished in a very meagre way, and not in accord, either in material or treatment, with the dignity of the Cullum Memorial, and that you recommend that if the Cullum Memorial be retained, the Officers' Quarters to be built on the other side be treated in accord with the Cullum Memorial, and that the Officers' Mess be faced with granite to make it balance with the Officers' Quarters?

The more Burnham studied the situation the more convinced he became that compromises were impossible if the Military Academy should be made consistent in appearance. He therefore went on with the work to satisfy himself rather than the jury or the terms of the programme. His report follows:

A study of the ground on which the United States Military Academy is located, leads to the belief that there is one main axis superior to all others for a monumental treatment of this post. When one stands on the balcony of the Observatory, from which is obtained a broad view of the Government domain and the surrounding country, this belief is confirmed, for this axis is the natural one in the landscape. It begins on the east side of the river, and, passing across the water, bisects the plateau which forms the parade ground, and then passes upward toward the mountains of the background through a dip between the foothills that lie at their feet.

It has seemed wrong to neglect the course to be pursued when Nature herself has so plainly indicated it. It therefore becomes a question whether one should adopt any compromise offering an inferior solution of the problem; and it would be a compromise to attempt to retain many of the buildings already erected, when an ideal design is plainly possible for both the practical and beautiful sides of the problem. And because this work is to be for all time, we have, after much hesitation, come to the conclusion that we should present that scheme which will ultimately bring about the noblest results, rather than one which at best must ever be unequal to it. The main reason for this choice lies in a conviction that order and system of a high quality surrounding a young soldier will strengthen within him a respect for law, so far as environment can affect him.

The design has three principal divisions:

First: The centre one, having to do most directly with the life and training of the cadets of the United States Army.

Second: That at the left, having to do with the life of the officers on duty and with visitors, — in short, with the social side of the post.

Third: That part at the right, which has to do with enlisted men, the commissary, and the more essentially working parts of the post.

These three divisions have been made in order that the men of each section may, as far as possible, carry on their distinctive functions without interfering with the necessary activities of others whose duties do not commingle.

These three divisions obviate to a great degree the necessity for using the parade ground and the avenues in front of the academy and barracks for carrying supplies and for passing troops of men. For the same reason, the Cavalry and Artillery ground has been placed in the plain on the northwest, conveniently near this section of the scheme.

The centre part is on a grand axis running northeast and southwest; the cadet barracks on three sides of a square, in the centre of which is the Academic building. The extension of the cadet barracks is to be used on one side for the Y.M.C.A.

and the reception room, with the museum and library on the other. These extensions complete the architectural treatment of the southwest end of the parade ground. The cadet courtyard is ample for all formations of the corps, and equally accessible to all the barracks. Behind the barracks is a plantation bordering on the drive that passes back of it. The cadet court is dominated by the Commandant's headquarters and those of the officer-of-the-day, which are in the southeast part of the Academic building.

From the cadet court, through a broad arch, the way opens into an amphitheatre of a size that can easily be canopied, and where can be held large formal or informal gatherings of the cadets, of members of the Army or of mixed companies of military men and civilians. This amphitheatre forms a sort of lower court to the sacred terrace above, on which terrace stands the House of God, properly placed there as the crowning feature of the grand design, high above all other buildings, but kept in strict relationship with them and upon the main axis. This church is reached by broad stairs and by a walk, furnishing easy access from the hotel and officers' town. From the cadet court under an archway and through a wooded alley, access to the mess hall is had. A similar passage is opened to the important cadet buildings on the right, the gymnasium, the riding hall and the store.

The administration buildings and the gymnasium complete the northwest and southwest corners of the framing of the parade ground, and they are connected with the main buildings by covered porticos. Behind each is a large elliptical forecourt. The two courts are arranged so that the finest distant views over the river are obtained from them.

Commanding the superb view of the Hudson River, a theatre has been arranged on the northwest slope; this is adapted to music, drama, and athletics, and its situation is like that of the theatre of Dionysius under the Acropolis at Athens. It is this view, across the theatre, that greets the visitor at the main entrance on passing through the triumphal arch of the forecourt, at the southwest corner of the parade ground.

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DESIGN FOR IMPROVEMENTS AT THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY
WEST POINT

It will be remarked that the orientation of this axis northeast and southwest presents great sanitary advantages; also, that the mess hall and hospital are retained, Cullum Hall being lowered to a terrace below its present position.

The officers' and visitors' part is naturally sub-divided into two axes: that of the arrival and the common social life of officers and visitors, and that of the more intimate and exclusive life of the post. Passing through the natural landing place, an axis traverses successive terraces until the hotel is reached. The visitor is thus greeted at once on his arrival, and commands, during his approach, the view of the river; and from the hotel terrace, a view of the parade ground. Grouped around this axis on terraces are the houses of those officers whose interests place them in relation with the outside world.

Here is the heart of the officers' home; it is placed in touch with the park land of the southeast and follows in successive terraces and gardens the natural crest of the ground. Advantage is taken of the overflow of the reservoir to form a cascade and lake in the centre of this composition.

The soldiers' town we have grouped around one court. The band-practice building and the commissary are directly below. Facing the recreation ground is the assembly hall for enlisted men. The guard-house is on the axis of the court commanding the approach from north dock and also a new freight station, the source of supplies. To the northwest, in proximity to cavalry and artillery barracks, are the stables, within easy reach of riding-hall and cavalry and artillery.

As a frieze, the proposed scheme skirts the Point. In the centre is the Academy proper, to the south its command and instruction, to the north its service, connected the one by the post-headquarters and the other by the athletic group.

Thus, while seeking an ideal working scheme, the aim has been to preserve and enhance the natural beauties of the site (in our estimation the real basis of historic associations), nowhere obtruding the architectural to the detriment of the natural. We have chosen a background of hills as a frame for the composition.

Built largely of native stone, relieved in effect by smaller monuments of marble, the new Academy is in harmony with Nature, and is in itself a perfect organization.

The competition was won by Cram, Goodhue & Ferguson, who chose to adopt Gothic instead of classic precedents. The judges who made the award were Lieutenant-General J. M. Schofield, Colonel A. L. Mills, George B. Post, Walter Cook, and Cass Gilbert. The architect members of the jury (selected by the competitors) were unanimous in their opinion, "believing that the character of the design is such that it cannot only be constructed with economy, but that it will harmonize with the character of the landscape, and that it can be readily developed into a satisfactory and complete plan." The development into a satisfactory and complete plan is still in the dim future. Indeed, the very beauty of the new chapel emphasizes the incongruity of the other elements in the composition.

CHAPTER XIV

THE WASHINGTON STATION AND THE CLEVELAND GROUP PLAN

1903

CONGRESS completed the legislation for the Washington railway terminals in February, 1903, according to the plans of the Senate Park Commission in every particular. Representative Cannon made a gallant fight on the floor of the House for the elimination of the plaza; but on being beaten yielded with good grace, and probably with secret satisfaction.

On February 26 McKim wrote congratulating Burnham on the passage of the legislation for the station, which "will make Mr. Cassatt happy as well, and our work at this end of the line a little easier." He urged Burnham to come in to see the New York terminal plans, and "if you have an extra set of prints of the Washington station, do let us have a look at them." To this cordial letter Burnham replied immediately that he would let McKim know the next time he was to be in New York, so that they might get a day together:

> I very much wish to have you go over the Washington station with me, and I also very much desire to see your New York work. The year and a half of constant work on the Massachusetts Avenue site have been of great benefit. I am only sorry I cannot have another year. As we proceed with it problems grow in number, though they affect smaller things, the larger elements being pretty well settled by this time. . . .
>
> I wish you would send me what you can illustrating the War

College. I have been deeply interested in it and have not seen a single thing except the newspaper paragraphs. I supposed of course you would let me know how the thing was going ahead, because of my deep sympathy for you in everything you do.

On March 9 McKim lunched with Burnham in New York and together they went over the plans for the Washington station. For several months they had been trying to get together. One failure is recorded in the following letter from McKim:

Holland House, February 6, 1903

No Burnham.
No message.
No nothing.
10.20 P.M.

DEAR DAN'L: I missed you at dinner, but cheered up on your telegraphic assurance that you would be here at nine o'clock. I got four tickets and enclosed them with a note saying I would call for you at 9.30. I fear either my letter or you has gone wrong, as they have scraped the house in vain and at last informed me that you had "gone out." If I had not several men at work on Washington, who are anxiously waiting on you and me to appear, I might be tempted to hire a detective to find out where in the devil you are. I am highly disappointed, as I need your individual attention and hate to go ahead without you. I shall expect you without fail on your return.

Yours disgustedly

CHARLES

These little misunderstandings were unavoidable. Both men were extremely busy, and each was so engrossed with the matters and people connected with the immediate work in hand that neither had time for amenities that require leisure for cultivation and expression. Besides, Chicago and New York are far apart when men are particularly interested in local problems.

Looking along Massachusetts Avenue

Looking towards the Capitol

THE BURNHAM DESIGN FOR THE TREATMENT OF THE PLAZA FACING THE UNION STATION, WASHINGTON

The chief criticism McKim made on the Washington station plans concerned the shape of the plaza, which was designed in the form of an ellipse. This McKim considered a weak and unsatisfactory form. That the result of the inspection on March 9 was satisfactory is indicated in a letter from McKim to Burnham, saying:

In the course of an interview last week with Mr. Cassatt, I took advantage of the opportunity to refer to your plans for the terminal station, over which he expressed much pleasure and satisfaction.

Mr. and Mrs. Burnham were enjoying a visit with the Schmidlapps in Cincinnati when a telegram came to tell of Hubert's illness at Annapolis. Within an hour they were on the train, and on arriving, April 6, they found that Hubert was in the Academy hospital with typhoid fever. They secured a boarding-place at Mrs. O'Lones' house, 90 King George Street; and as Hubert's temperature quickly went down, they enjoyed the hospitality of Admiral and Mrs. Schroeder, Mrs. Brownson, Commander and Mrs. Dodger, and others of the officers.

It was not until May 20 that Mrs. Burnham returned to Chicago with Hubert.

May 22. John La Farge and Jaccaci lunched in the office and looked over the Lake Front scheme and the First National Bank and West Point drawings.

May 25. (Sunday.) At home all day. The Deerings, Browns, Polks, Mrs. Lord and Kate, Miss Cole and Charles Connell, Mrs. Fuller and Harriet M., Mrs. Gilmore, the Lakes, the Woodyatt boys, Morley and Anderson called. The Polks left for Europe.

This was a typical Sunday evening in summer at the Burn-

ham home. During the early afternoon there was tennis on the courts near the house, or a game of ball in which both boys and girls engaged. Often Mr. Burnham would be detained in the city until late in the afternoon, returning to find visiting in full blast. When time came for tea, the visitors, often from twenty to thirty in number, would stroll along the narrow, winding paths through the native forest, thence under the trellis that traversed the vegetable gardens, and so to steps leading to the high terrace, the width of a city block, overlooking the illimitable expanse of Lake Michigan. There a tea-house was built for service and as a refuge in case of sudden storms. Among the groups scattered over the grass, the tea-cart circulated hospitably, and talk went on long after the only light came from the tips of the men's cigars.

On June 5 McKim wrote:

I am sailing for Europe for the first decent vacation I have had for three years. I am sorry to think that I shall not see you before I go, and write to say good-bye; and also I shall be of any service to you if I can while on the other side. I am taking with me some photographs and prints of the work of this office for the R.I.B.A. exhibition, in which I have been asked to participate, as the recipient of the medal for 1903, as you may have heard.[1] . . . I am proposing, with your approval, to take

[1] The gold medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects. A dinner given to the recipient by the King is a portion of the ceremonies. Mr. McKim was entertained by Edward VII at Windsor Palace, and after the dinner, as the King and Mr. McKim were walking in the gardens, the former said: "I have always wanted to repeat my visit to the United States, where I had so much pleasure in 1860. There are so many things I want to see — for example, the Flatiron Building in New York." McKim used to tell this story as a joke on himself, sky-scrapers being his pet architectural abomination.

It was on this occasion that he cabled in reply to a highly congratulatory telegram from his American friends: "Thanks; I still wear the same sized hat."

with me and present as the gift of the Park Commission the photographs of the Washington scheme, made by Miss Johnston; also a copy of the report of the Senate District Committee on the same subject. I have half a dozen of the best photographs, showing the Capitol and Washington Monument, enlarged to give a better idea of the scheme of the Commission, and would take a set of lantern slides were I lecturer enough to undertake the job. . . . The coming winter is full of work and worry and for one thing a controversy with the Government on the question of remuneration is surely before us. For two years I have had no let up, and in view of all ahead I feel that it has reached a time when it is important for me to take it. Wishing you a happy summer, etc.

During 1903 the Lake Front Parkway in Chicago, which Burnham had taken up directly after the Fair, at the suggestion of James W. Ellsworth, was never out of mind. There were luncheons with General Manager Wallace of the Illinois Central, the tracks of which road were an obstacle to be surmounted; talks before the people of Evanston and Chicago on the plans for Washington, with more than incidental reference to the schemes for Chicago, which were fast growing in the well-cultivated soil of his mind. On June 4 he spoke to the Commercial Club on the subject of the beautification of Chicago. The meeting was attended by Franklin MacVeagh, J. V. Farwell, Jr., Leslie Carter, Harley Bradley, and others, who passed resolutions asking Burnham to make a report on the subject to the club in October.

On August 17 the report on the Cleveland Civic Centre was presented to Mayor Tom Johnson and the Directors of Public Service, and was formally accepted by them for the city. During the first year of the existence of the Group Plan Commission they devoted themselves to the discussion of the main

scheme and tried various solutions of the problem. They had a special office in New York where the drawings were made. Mr. Burnham constantly visited this office and held consultations there.

The first important discussion centred on the position of the railway station, which, it was finally decided, should be in the centre of the composition, on the Lake Front. Mr. Burnham felt very strongly about this and compared the Group Plan with the buildings in Chicago at the World's Fair. He told his fellow-commissioners how Mr. McKim finally decided that the buildings on the Lake Front had to be connected by a colonnade with a great central feature, and said that in the case of Cleveland the scheme required similar treatment. Accordingly the position of the railway station was definitely fixed and agreed upon.

For over a year [writes Mr. Brunner] we worked at the drawings and constantly conferred about the details of the plan, Mr. Burnham always adding fresh inspiration and proving himself to be a designer as well as a more than intelligent critic. In writing the report, which contained reproductions of our drawings, Mr. Burnham contributed largely to its presentation.

Looking over the minutes of the following years, up to 1911, the time of the sad death of Mr. Carrère,[1] it is interesting to note the various activities of the Commission. Probably the most popular service our commission rendered to Cleveland was to show that $7,000,000, the proposed cost of the new County Court House, was excessive; and after careful calculations the Board found that the building need not cost more than half that amount — a recommendation enthusiastically received.

[1] John Carrère was instantly killed in an automobile accident in the streets of New York.

GROUP PLAN FOR THE CIVIC CENTRE, CLEVELAND

The City Council passed a resolution, on June 18, 1902, giving the Board control of the location of all municipal and county buildings erected in Cleveland, besides control of their size, style, and general appearance. Accordingly, we were consulted not only about the design of the Court House and the City Hall, in which we suggested numerous modifications, but also about many minor public buildings, such as schools, branch libraries, markets; projects for the treatment of several miles of Lake Front; for the terminus of the High Level Bridge and the proposed Lake Shore Boulevard. In fact we performed in part the function of an art commission for the city.

The Commission passed resolutions recommending the use of granite for the Federal Building, for which Mr. Arnold W. Brunner was the architect, and granite was finally used much to Mr. Burnham's personal delight, as it was the material he wished to use for all the buildings in the Group Plan.

During all these years Mr. Burnham conscientiously attended the meetings except when he was in Europe. He gave much time to them and his hearty enthusiasm was delightful. He was unquestionably our leader. Later, when he designed the railway station and submitted his drawings to the Commission, we naturally approved the project, which was splendidly worked out and in which he was tremendously interested.

After Mr. Carrère's death, Mr. Frank B. Meade, of Cleveland, was appointed in his place, and in 1912 Mr. Olmsted was appointed to succeed Mr. Burnham, Mr. Brunner being elected chairman.

The Commission is still in existence [continues Mr. Brunner], but is not active. The members are called to Cleveland from time to time to decide upon various buildings to be erected in the Group Plan, such as the Auditorium and the addition to the Court House. The Post Office, the Custom House and Court House (or the United States Federal Building, as it is called), the Cuyahoga County Court House and the City Hall all have been completed. A large portion of the ground re-

quired for the Mall has been acquired by the city, but no steps have been taken to demolish the buildings that now occupy it so that the visitor to Cleveland does not readily see the progress that really has been made. Unfortunately, the railway station has not been built, and it appears that the present intention of the railroads is to abandon the site upon which all agreed, and to erect a station in the Public Square. This leaves the future completion of the Group Plan undecided and in an unsatisfactory condition, a state of affairs that would probably not have existed if Mr. Burnham, with his splendid enthusiasm, his force and personality, were here to plead for the execution of the plan on which he had set his heart.

CHAPTER XV

THE STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE THE MALL IN WASHINGTON

1903–1904

THE legislation for the removal of the Pennsylvania Railroad station from the Mall was put through Congress during the time when the new plans for Washington were still fresh in the minds and imaginations of all. The railroads, having consented to make the changes, Congress was made to see the advantage of spending the money necessary to accomplish the changes; and the people of the District were surprised and gratified over the prospective fulfilment of their long-cherished dreams of getting the railroads out of the parks — visions that with every year had seemed to become more and more unsubstantial as those corporations confirmed their hold on public property.

With the death of Senator McMillan came the test of the Plan of 1901. He had said, in reply to a pessimistic remark as to the obstacles in the path of the new plan: "If the plan shall prove to be as good as we think it, then it will be carried out; but if it is not a good plan, it will fail, and will deserve to fail." It is not fair to say that with the passing from the scene of Senator McMillan, the plan had no friends in Congress. It is quite within bounds, however, to say that the plan had lost the unflinching support and championship of the one man whose influence and pertinacity would have overcome the particular kinds of opposition that developed in and out of

Congress, and whose disinterestedness would have rallied to his aid a body of supporters. After him came the deluge; and nothing but the inherent logic and worth of the Plan of 1901 enabled it to survive the attacks made upon it when left without a sponsor in Congress who understood its elements and was able to maintain its integrity.[1]

On June 24, 1903, the Secretary of the Treasury, Leslie M. Shaw, wrote Mr. Burnham that Congress had provided for the purchase of the block bounded by E, F, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Streets (where the Interior Department is now located) for a hall of records. President Roosevelt, the Secretary stated, was anxious not to do violence to the scheme outlined in the Park Commission report. Friends of the site argued that it was not out of harmony with the plan, and so the question was referred to Mr. Burnham. To this letter Mr. Burnham replied:

There are two sorts of architectural beauty, first, that of an individual building; and second, that of an orderly and fitting arrangement of many buildings. The relationship of all the buildings is more important than anything else. Realizing this, the Commission made a plan of which the Agricultural building and a hall of records formed a part. Neither of these

[1] James McMillan, Senator from Michigan from 1889 till his death in 1902, was born in Hamilton, Ontario, of Scotch parents. In 1855, as a lad he went to Detroit and, after a railway experience, became the active partner of the firm of Newberry & McMillan, builders of freight-cars. He was interested in shipbuilding, in the navigation interests of the Great Lakes, in building and managing railroads, in banking and in public utility companies. On entering the Senate, he virtually retired from business and gave his attention to public duties, especially to the improvement of the District of Columbia; its schools, charities, street railways, water-supply and filtration, and all other matters of civil economy. The development of the park system he regarded as his culminating work for the District; but it was only a portion of his senate tasks, for he was one of the leaders among the Republicans in the Senate.

WASHINGTON: THE SENATE PARK COMMISSION PLAN OF 1901: SHOWING THE PROPOSED TREATMENT OF THE CAPITOL GROUNDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNION SQUARE CONTAINING THE GRANT MEMORIAL, AND THE BEGINNING OF THE MALL SYSTEM
These plans are established by acts of Congress and are being carried out

buildings could be omitted from the plan or its location changed without a serious loss to the design as a whole. The questions to be decided by the Executive seemed to be: Is any plan of locating buildings worth while; or, on the contrary, shall the judgment of individuals be allowed to determine each case as it arises and without any reference to others?

If the Executive decides that the Senate was wise in going to the trouble and expense of laying out a plan for the improvement of the Capital, then that plan, or some other which is satisfactory, should be adopted and adhered to and no monumental structure, such as a hall of records or the Agricultural building, should be allowed to proceed unless in accordance with the plan; for if they are built without reference to future conditions, it may be impossible to make future conditions harmonize with them. One has but to notice the unfortunate competition of the dome of the Congressional Library with that of the Capitol, or to see the effect of the Post Office roof and tower, in order to understand the danger of disregarding general effect and of ignoring everything except the building immediately to be dealt with.

The question of location will arise whenever any building is to be dealt with, and pressure will inevitably be brought to bear to change from the general plan. No plan can be carried out unless the Executive enforces it, and one or two precedents against adhering to the general plan will make it impossible for the people to realize any good scheme whatever for public beauty in Washington.

Secretary Shaw answered that he did not believe that the report could be carried out in all its details, if each public building must be located on the site selected by the Park Commission. He asked for another expression of opinion as to whether the site selected for a hall of records would be a practical abandonment of the report or whether it would be in measurable harmony with it.

To this question, on July 16, Mr. Burnham replied:

The United States Government is soon to erect two monumental buildings of the first class. The sites for them have been arranged as part of the general plan for the improvement of the city. This general plan will result in convenience and beauty if it can be carried out. It can be carried out if the Executive is willing to enforce it. It cannot be carried out if individuals are allowed to disarrange it by shifting the sites or by forcing the adoption of those that have no relationship with each other or which may even conflict. The most important of the materials from which this general plan is to be realized are such buildings as those already mentioned. If, therefore, the hall of records and the Agricultural building be not erected in accordance with the general plan, then the plan will undoubtedly suffer by disarrangement. But this is not all. Suppose that individuals who care nothing for general order and beauty be allowed to have their own way this once, is it not sure that the very same urgency will be brought to bear on every future occasion? Is it not sure that some one will invariably try to change each of the locations when the time comes to build?

If the Executive yields now, it will be much more difficult to refuse in the future, because it will then have not alone the urgency of personal interest, but precedent as well to contend with. On all future occasions the claim will be set up that the Plan was abandoned by the Administration and was dropped definitively. Therefore, I believe that unless you now adhere to the general plan it will be lost and the work done upon it thrown away. It will never again be so easy as it now is to stem the tide.

You ask me if the new site suggested by you is in itself a good one. Do you desire an answer ignoring the present or any other general plan? If you do, it is easily made. If, however, you feel that it would not be wise to select a site for such an important building without being sure that such a building on such a site will agree with everything around it, then it would seem that a new general plan, including a hall of records on that particular spot, should be made before absolutely de-

termining to place it there. But what would this new plan avail, unless you have the assurance that it will be carried out. Would not the same question of changing the location of buildings shown upon it come up in any case?

I do think the present plan will suffer if the great hall of records be taken out of it, and I also believe that this or any other general plan will thereby be made impossible of realization.

There is no one in Washington whose duty it is to defend this plan. You are therefore most likely to hear one side, whenever the question of a site arises — the side backed by local, individual interests.

It gives me great pride to know that in the midst of your great and urgent duties you are giving thought to the æsthetic side of the Government activity, and that you wish to discuss it with a private citizen. Unless you object, I desire to say a word or two on this topic with my fellow architects, who will be pleased and gratified when they know the deep interest you show in the matter.

Secretary Shaw, who prided himself on being a "practical" man, took advantage of Mr. Burnham's slip in saying "the Executive" when he meant the Government — an error into which he fell because of the implication in the original letter, that before proceeding with a hall of records, Mr. Burnham's advice was sought by the President. Moreover, no appropriation for a building had been made. On July 18, the Secretary wrote:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th, from which I quote "this general plan will result in convenience and beauty if it can be carried out. It can be carried out if the Executive is willing to enforce it." A similar statement was contained in your former letter which I showed to the President. I join with him in the opinion that you do not fully appreciate the situation. The only way the Executive can enforce the erection of public buildings on certain sites is to veto the bills for erec-

tion elsewhere. Every administration for twenty years has begged and pleaded for a hall of records. For the first time opportunity is offered to erect one, but under the law it can be erected only upon one site. By authorizing its erection in a certain place, Congress has taken the responsibility (and with Congress the responsibility rests) of giving the Executive no discretion as to site. It does clothe the Executive with the discretion of erecting it where specified or not at all.

My inquiry was not whether this was a site suggested by your Commission. I know it was not. But I did desire to know whether the erection of a dead building, a warehouse, on the site proposed would in your opinion do such violence to the report as to render it inadvisable to carry out the remaining suggestions.

I doubt if any Executive would take the responsibility of vetoing a bill for the erection of a much needed public building simply because it was not on the site that had been recommended by a commission.

Mr. Burnham replied, on July 21, with restraint and dignity:

I am aware that the President has no power of substitution under the act authorizing the selection of a site for a hall of records, and I do appreciate the difficulties of the situation. Senator Stewart [1] sent me a copy of the statement which was recently mailed to you, from which it appears that the great departments of the Government believe that block 143 is located conveniently for a hall of records. It would be out of place for me to question the judgment of the departments, even if I differed from them, which I do not. There is no reason why this building should not be located on block 143, except the one stated before, that this action would take it out of the composition already made and create a precedent against the carrying out of any general plan.

I have no doubt that we could find some treatment for the ground whereon we had proposed to place the hall of records,

[1] Senator William M. Stewart, of Nevada, who owned a portion of the land included in the site sold to the Government.

WASHINGTON: THE MALL FROM THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT

Showing (right) the unfinished Department of Agriculture, the beginnings of the Freer Gallery, and (left) the National Museum, all located to conform to the new axis created by the Plan of 1901. In the centre are temporary war-buildings, so located that on their removal the roads and walks will accord with the plan

in case it does not go there. But I feel that the failure of the Government to carry out our plan when the first opportunities arise for doing so will be a practical abandonment of it.

In the last paragraph of your letter you express a doubt which should be a certainty, for I am sure that no one expects the Executive to take a responsibility you mention "because of the recommendation of a commission." If the President backs this or any other plan for public improvement in Washington he ought to do it solely on the ground that the plan itself is a good one, which, if followed, will result in that order and beauty which is to be so much desired.

If the Executive cannot take the site shown on the general plan for the hall of records, will it not nevertheless be possible to direct matters so that some fixed scheme of good order shall be endorsed and carried out in the future? Should the President see fit to make the systematic improvement of the Capital an executive measure, he would have the enthusiastic support of the whole press and people.

Secretary Shaw replied in a letter clearly indicating his animus towards the Plan:

At the suggestion of the President I enclose you herewith his letter to me relative to the hall of records. I think you will appreciate the President's cordiality to you and your commission, but what we are after is assistance in getting the best possible results. Personally, I do not believe that any Congress will ever pay the least attention to the report of the Commission. Personally I would follow any plan rather than erect buildings with no general plan, but Congress is a practical and not a theoretical body. The question on which we want your opinion is this: if we should erect this building where Congress has designated, would it thereafter be worth while to press the report upon the attention of Congress, or would it mean a practical abandonment of the scheme outlined in the report?

In reply to this hypothetical question Mr. Burnham wrote, on July 24:

In answer to your specific question: I believe that it would be a good thing to press the report upon the attention of Congress even though the hall of records shall have been placed upon block 143, instead of where shown by the general plan.

I do understand the situation perfectly, as I wrote to you yesterday, and I sympathize with the President. I know very well that he takes an interest in the report made by us and that he would like to see it carried out, and I hope he will feel that it is proper for him to make an active effort in its behalf, although it is well known that at least one man prominent in Washington is opposed to everything which carried the approval of the Commission.

The location of the hall of records does not make so much difference to the Plan, as does the building of the Department of Agriculture.

General Washington himself dictated the Plan of the Mall in all its essential features: First, a grand avenue in the centre of the Mall; second, a line of white palaces on each side of the avenue, extending along its entire length.

This arrangement cannot be surpassed, and after advising with every one whose judgment we found of value we incorporated Washington's arrangement into our plan, or rather we considered his plan best and adopted it. When we did this we had before us a schedule of public buildings to be erected in the next few years on the Mall. All of them will be museums, or semi-museums, for public use, and they will be eminently fit to carry out Washington's plan. If one of these buildings be now erected upon the Mall, but not upon its true axis, then a state of disorder will have been made permanent and a systematic arrangement of this public space will have been made impossible thereafter.

The railroads through Mr. A. J. Cassatt, President of the Pennsylvania Company, gave up their location on the Mall after a long contest. This location was an admirable one for the railroads themselves, but Mr. Cassatt agreed to leave the location because he was convinced that remaining there would

form a barrier which would thereafter stand in the way of the general improvement.

And therefore, the railroads have gone to the place selected for them by the Commission and have begun the erection upon it of a station which will cost two or three times as much as was proposed to expend on their present site on the Mall. I mention this fact in order to show how strong public sentiment is in the matter.

The President's position is just. The place to fight was in Congress when the bills were up. For one, I knew nothing about this part of the work. Saint-Gaudens, McKim, Olmsted, and I worked over the thing without pay for the better part of two years, and reported a year and a half ago, supposing that the Senate District Committee would follow up the matter; but the death of Senator McMillan seems to have left a vacancy which no one else cares to fill.

If the President will give us a hint, however, we will try to anticipate for the future. Meanwhile, must the Agricultural building go on without reference to any future plan?

On August 3, the Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson, wrote to Mr. Burnham:

Your letter of July 24 to Secretary Shaw reaches me by way of the President. I am amazed at several of the statements you make. It is very easy to read between the lines whom you mean when you speak of the Department of Agriculture building being put in some wrong place. I cannot understand one of your expressions, and I hope you will give me some information about it. You say, "if one of these buildings be now erected upon the Mall, but not upon *its true axis* then a state of disorder will have been made permanent and a systematic arrangement of the public space will have been made impossible thereafter."

Will you kindly tell me to what axis you have reference? Some busybody who meddles in other people's affairs has been giving you a great deal of misinformation. We have not come to the location of the building and will not for several months. Who has told you that anybody proposes to have the Agricul-

tural building go on "without reference to any future plan," as you speak of in the closing paragraph of your letter?

On August 5, Mr. Burnham returned a soft answer, with the intention of turning away the wrath of the Secretary of Agriculture:

Your valued favor of the third instant is duly received and contents carefully noted. In answer to your first question, I have the honor to send you a copy of the general plan made by the Senate Commission, on which I have marked the true axis referred to. This plan carries out General Washington's plan, which is L'Enfant's. The essence of this design is the avenue, on each side of which is to be a line of white buildings. Unless these buildings on each side be centred on the same east and west line, the beauty of the general arrangement will be entirely lost, and it will be exactly true that, as I said to Secretary Shaw, if one of these buildings be now erected upon the Mall, but not upon its true axis, then a state of disorder will have been made permanent and a systematic arrangement of this public space will have been made impossible hereafter.

Much uneasiness has been felt regarding the placing of these two important buildings, namely, the Agricultural and a hall of records, as I have fully explained in answer to the question Secretary Shaw did me the honor to ask.

It gives me great pleasure to know that you resent the implication that you might be a party to placing the Agricultural building anywhere else than in its proper relationship with the plan for the future development of the city.

Every intelligent American is taking a deep interest in this question, and all are looking to Washington in the hope that an example may be set in the Capital, which shall result in greater order and better harmony in all the cities throughout the country.

Mr. Burnham's feelings after this his second skirmish with a Secretary of the Treasury are expressed in a letter to Charles Moore, dated September 17, 1903:

WASHINGTON: THE SENATE PARK COMMISSION PLAN FOR THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT GARDENS, LOOKING TOWARDS THE CAPITOL
The monument rises from a terraced plane; the central pool restores axial relations with the White House. From a rendering by Jules Guérin

MY DEAR MOORE: Several drafts were made of letters to you. Each of them was destroyed, because when I came to read it over in cold blood some coloring of my own seemed to have crept in. I now send you copies of the correspondence, except of the President's letter to Secretary Shaw, which I returned to the latter without keeping a copy. In this letter the President spoke of us as "his Commission" [meaning D. H. Burnham's] and as though we were a set of fellows who were trying to exploit our private hobbies. . . . He seemed to forget that I was writing in response to his request. However, I hope he understands us better now.

The President wanted to know why the architects did not go before the Committees of Congress to make their fight. An answer to this you will see in one of my enclosed letters.

Congressman Mercer called on me a week ago and talked over this matter. I told him that the hall of records location on block 143 was not bad in itself, but that the precedent was. Incidentally I showed him the avenue on the Mall and explained the arrangement of the buildings on each side of it. He expressed the conviction that nothing should be allowed to interfere with it.

Block 143 is Senator Stewart's old home. The hall of records will be placed there. Every one in Washington seems to think so while saying that it is indecent on the part of the old man to urge it. Disgust and comity seem not inseparable in Washington. Nice word, "comity."

I sent a beautiful map of the Mall to Secretary Wilson and one to the President. These had movable facings of tissue paper on which strong red lines indicated the east and west axis of the buildings beside the Avenue, thus explaining to the Secretary the meaning of "its true axis." These drawings are about two feet by two feet six inches and will make many things clear to the President and his Cabinet.

You know whether or not it has cost me an effort to keep my temper. I hope that the correspondence shows that I have. I strongly wished and tried to leave all the gentlemen warm-hearted and glad-handed toward the Commission.

By the bye, I recently came across a fact that will interest you. While with Josiah V. Thompson in Southwestern Pennsylvania, he told me of a town near Connellsville which was laid out by Washington in the 1750's, the plan of which is similar to that of the Capital, having streets radiating from central points. Now! whose was the plan adopted by Congress in 1791? A great man, our Uncle George, and magnanimous withal. Did he care who took the credit? Not if the thing "got itself done," as Carlyle would say.[1]

Yours as ever D. H. B.

This correspondence proved to be the preliminary skirmish preceding the battle for the preservation of the Mall. Mr. Burnham did not refer to Secretary Wilson but to Representative Cannon, when he spoke of "the one man known to be opposed to the Commission plan." Mr. Cannon's opposition was entirely open and above board. This correspondence closes with the President uncertain, the Secretary of the Treasury sceptical, and the Secretary of Agriculture protesting too much. As a matter of fact, the hall of records was not built on the site purchased for it, nor has it been built on any site. The need for such an institution, long urgent, now (1920) seems about to be realized, and the location will probably be selected in accordance with the Plan of 1901. Meanwhile, on the land which Congress was induced to purchase ostensibly for that purpose an office-building has been erected and is being occupied by the Interior Department, to the detriment of the Plan.

The first great struggle came early in 1904. The issue was joined when B. T. Galloway, chairman of the building committee charged with the construction of the new building for the Department of Agriculture, wrote to the architects, Ran-

[1] Mr. Burnham's informant was incorrect. Washington laid out no such town.

kin, Kellogg & Crane, of Philadelphia, that Secretary Wilson and the sixteen members of the House Committee on Agriculture had called upon President Roosevelt to lay before him the matter of the location of the building. They took with them the L'Enfant plan of the Mall and also the Plan of 1901.

The latter plan contemplated a width of eight hundred feet between the buildings on the north side of the Mall and those on the south side, the distances to be measured from an imaginary axial line drawn from the centre of the dome of the Capitol to the centre of the Washington Monument. Inasmuch as the monument was located more than a hundred feet south of the L'Enfant axis, the efforts of the Burnham Commission to obtain an axis for the great central composition resulted in contracting the building space on the south side of the Mall. The Secretary and the House Committee therefore proposed to narrow the width of the space between buildings from eight hundred feet to six hundred feet. That is to say, a body of laymen, without technical advice, and without regard to the considerations which led to the establishment of greater width, proposed to overturn that plan and to disarrange the entire Mall scheme.

President Roosevelt, after listening to the explanations, asked if the Secretary and the Committee were unanimous in their opinion that the Agricultural Department building should be moved out to the six hundred feet line. They replied that they were not only unanimously in favor of such action, but they were enthusiastic over it. The President thereupon stated that the matter must stand that way.[1]

[1] Letter dated February 6, 1904, B. T. Galloway to Rankin, Kellogg & Crane.

The architects sent a copy of Dr. Galloway's letter to Mr. McKim, who wrote to President Roosevelt on February 10:

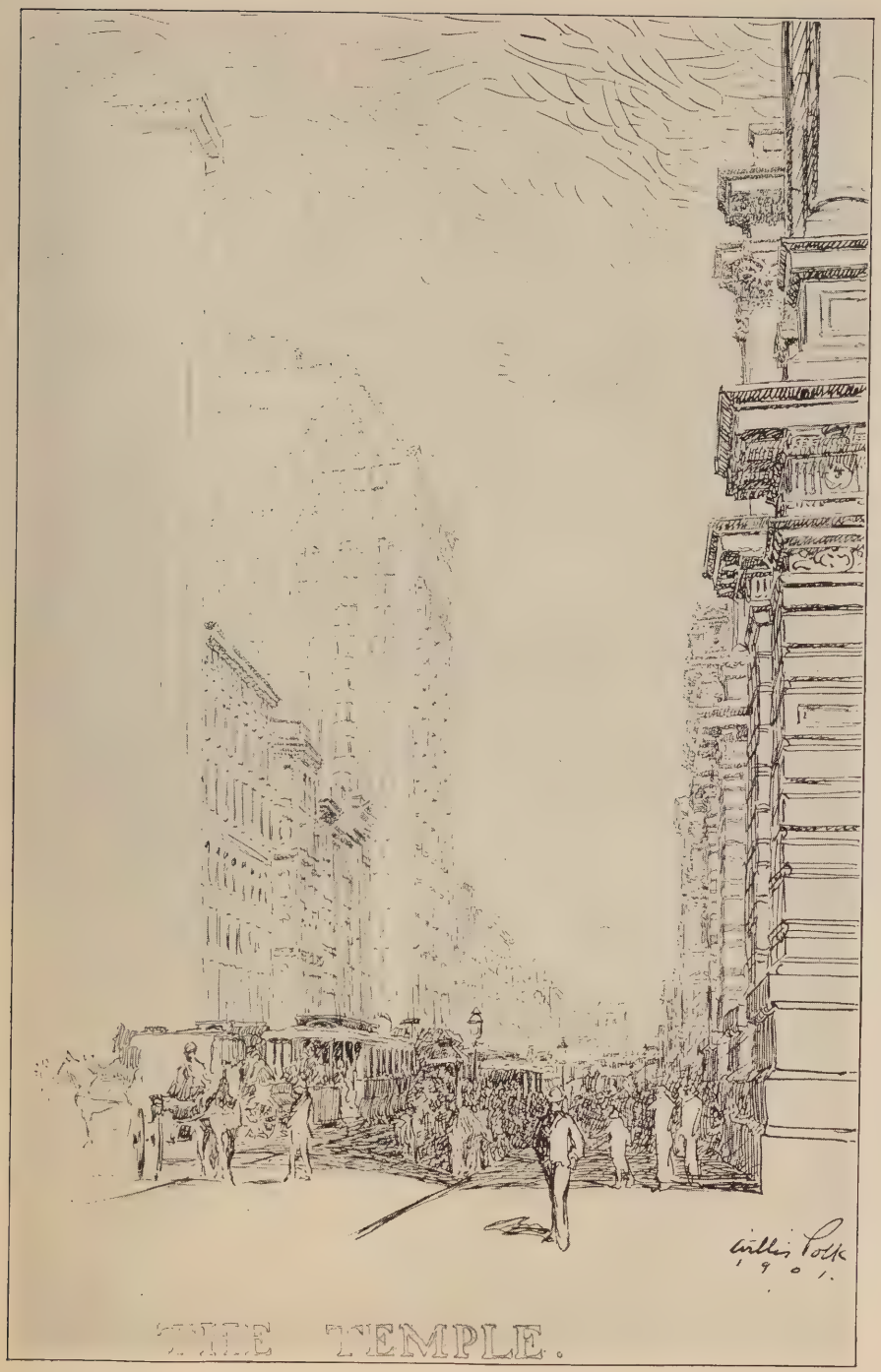
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Knowing your deep interest in the right development of the Mall, and your desire that each step, as time goes on, shall be wisely taken, but fearing from the enclosed letter, received this morning from Messrs. Rankin, Kellogg & Crane, architects for the new building of the Department of Agriculture, that action is about to be taken, which, once taken, will result to the injury of the development of the Mall as a whole, I venture to ask, in the name of the Park Commission, that before your authority is finally given to any change from the plans accompanying the report of the Commission, they may be heard, either officially or unofficially, as you may deem best.

Since the Commission's report was made at the instance of the Senate, without the concurrence of the House, and has aroused some feeling in the House, shared by Mr. Cannon, perhaps you will deem it best to avoid a formal hearing.

After meeting Mr. Cannon, while last in Washington, I can state positively that he has no objection to the individual members of the Commission. On the contrary, it was clear to me, and is, I believe, generally admitted, that his real opposition arose from the Senate's independent action in going ahead without the concurrence of the House.

What would seem most important now is the appointment of some recognized authority, or committee, charged with the questions involved in the laying-out of buildings and grounds between the Monument and Capitol, and other questions affecting the development of the Mall system. Such a commission should be one acceptable to yourself and both houses of Congress.

Meantime, when it is considered that our Commission is made up of men who did not seek their appointment, who gave, without compensation, nearly a year of their time, and who were unanimous in the adoption of the plan submitted by them, is it too much to ask that this plan, and the arguments which led to its adoption, be fairly discussed on their merits?



THE MASONIC TEMPLE, CHICAGO

The architects of the country, moved by the efforts of Glenn Brown, secretary of the American Institute of Architects, conferred with Senator Newlands, of Nevada, who thereupon introduced in the Senate a bill providing that no building should be erected on the Mall, within four hundred feet of the central line stretching from the centre of the dome of the Capitol to the centre of the Washington Monument. McKim wrote to Burnham, asking his aid to preserve the Mall plan. Mr. Burnham, doubtless having in mind his correspondence of the previous year with Secretary Shaw — a correspondence of which apparently Mr. McKim was ignorant — made this equivocal reply:

Chicago, March 8, 1904

DEAR CHARLES: You are paying the penalty for doing public work. Public work should be avoided by men who care for their own peace of mind, because one cannot give satisfaction to a dozen different masters, especially when most of them are very deficient in taste and the rest of them will undo any one who cannot be governed.

Back of the Senate hubbub is a very persistent effort from department officials to keep out "intruders," which is the word used so frankly by Senator Hale in his late address regarding architects.

If I did not honor you before, I should do so now when I find you being abused from the floor of the Senate. They think they are bowling terrible "twisters" down there, but they cannot touch your wicket. . . . Not even by a hair's breadth.

My love to you, as always

D. H. BURNHAM

Nevertheless, Mr. Burnham was on hand at the hearing on the Newlands bill, called at the instance of the Washington Architectural Club, and held by the Senate Committee on the

District of Columbia on March 12. Senator Gallinger, chairman of the Committee, Senators Foraker, Dillingham, Foster, of Washington, Scott, Martin, and Mallory, were present. Of the seven Senators, Messrs. Foraker, Foster, and Scott were not members of the District Committee that reported the Plan of 1901. Senators Wetmore and Newlands appeared as friends of the proposed legislation; McKim, Saint-Gaudens, and Olmsted were present to hold up Burnham's hands.[1]

The first person to be heard was B. T. Galloway, of the Department of Agriculture, who stated that $1,500,000 had been appropriated for buildings for the Agricultural Department, and that the Secretary was directed to use his own authority and judgment in the selection of plans and in the location. Rankin, Kellogg & Crane were secured as architects. After the work had progressed the question of location came up and the plan of the Park Commission had necessarily to be considered. The architects prepared schemes for both the north and the south side of the Mall, they themselves favoring the north side. Secretary Wilson personally favored going out of the Mall altogether, so that the space could be reserved as a park, and also so that he could get more room for the natural expansion of the Department.

Secretary Langley, who followed Mr. Galloway, stated that the Smithsonian Building as it now stands is included in both

[1] The American Institute of Architects was represented by W. B. Mundie, of Chicago; George B. Post, of New York; W. S. Eames, of St. Louis; Frank Miles Day and Thomas M. Kellogg, of Philadelphia; Leon Dessez, Glenn Brown, J. C. Hornblower and George Oakley Totten, of Washington. James Knox Taylor, the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department; Samuel P. Langley, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution; Charles C. Glover, president of the Riggs National Bank; Franklin W. Smith, owner of the Halls of the Ancients; and Blair Lee, afterwards Senator from Maryland, also were present.

the six hundred and the eight hundred feet width; and, in reply to a question by Senator Wetmore, said that he presumed the building could be moved if necessary.

Mr. Burnham, on being called, said:

Mr. Chairman, you would naturally expect me to stand for the element of beauty in public buildings and grounds. I also stand for a system, so that in the future buildings shall be erected with reference to their grouping as a whole. The World's Fair illustrated the beauty which is produced by the grouping of buildings. There a systematic plan was first evolved, so that the general result would be one of beauty. The beauty of the whole composition was far superior to that of any individual building. The people saw the World's Fair and it had its effect. One of the effects seems to have been a desire on the part of the people to have a general plan made for their capital city.

This feeling must have been brought home to Senator McMillan. He appreciated the fact that not only does this sentiment prevail among professional men, but that there is a steadily growing and strong sentiment for architectural beauty among the people of the United States.

We members of the Park Commission were asked to come here to take up the question of a general plan for the beautification of Washington. It seemed our opportunity to perform a public duty as well as a public work — an opportunity that does not often come to an architect. With the feeling that it would occupy but a few months, it gave us pleasure to devote that much time to the public service. We declined compensation for our work, believing that in a spirit of service we ourselves would be led to do our best.

The Commission began by making a survey — an optical survey — of the District, in order to familiarize ourselves as much as possible with the lay of the ground within the city boundaries. We went up the Potomac as far as Great Falls, to examine the character of the water-supply as well as to get the general appearance of the scenery along the river. We en-

circled the city on the hills, keeping our minds open as far as possible, before going to the documents or attempting to examine what had already been planned. We went to Arlington and down the river to Alexandria. It was then suggested that it would be wise for us to see the old estates in Virginia from which Washington and Jefferson drew their ideas of planning. In this way we familiarized ourselves with the very source of the original inspiration. We went down the Potomac River and up the James and York Rivers, visiting Williamsburg and such old Colonial estates as the Brandons, Westover, and Shirley.

After completing these surveys we examined the documents, especially the well-known L'Enfant Plan, which was prepared under the direction of, and in participation with, General Washington. Washington himself selected this location and then employed L'Enfant to carry out his ideas. The L'Enfant Plan dealt with an axis — I am speaking now strictly of the Mall — from the Capitol to a Washington Statue. An equestrian statue of Washington was authorized by the Continental Congress, but the Monument was not begun until 1848. The plan of L'Enfant was approved by President Washington in 1791, so that it was at that time and so far as I can find has remained officially the plan of the city of Washington. We do not find that there has been any reversal of the action taken by Washington under authority of Congress.[1]

After making an examination of existing material, it was evident that our duty was to visit the various capitals of Europe in order to familiarize ourselves with principles and features in the Old World which might be utilized to advantage and profit in our own country. We craved, of course, all suggestions which the intelligent minds of the past had to give us in regard to the landscape setting of public buildings. It was

[1] Mr. Burnham was entirely correct. The L'Enfant Plan covered the area from the Potomac to Florida Avenue and from Rock Creek to the Anacostia. In 1888 Congress extended the plan to the entire District of Columbia; and in 1895 Congress extended the city of Washington to cover the entire area of the District of Columbia as then constituted — about seven square miles.

ORCHESTRA HALL, CHICAGO

at very great inconvenience to each one of us that we made the journey. We studied all the important and grand arrangements in the suburbs as well as in the closely built sections of great cities. We saw the notable avenues and streets; we visited both public and private parks of notable beauty.

Having made this investigation, it was plain that the L'Enfant scheme for Washington City could not be improved. The great feature of this scheme was a grand park connection between the grounds of the Capitol and those of the White House. Having determined that this feature was fundamental, the width became the burning question. What width should a parkway be, which was a mile and a half long in the midst of one of the great capitals of the world? We made a thorough examination of every notable plantation where trees were used and an open, grass-covered space left between them. We found that the nearest approach to the one in the Mall in its dimensions was Bushy Park, near London, and the parkway of greensward at Hatfield House, the seat of the Marquis of Salisbury.

In order to make more sure and to check ourselves, as we felt the very grave importance of the recommendations to the Senate, we had flagpoles erected through the Mall so that we could see them from the steps of the Capitol and from the Monument itself. We tried two hundred and fifty feet, then four hundred feet, then three hundred feet, and the three hundred feet space was plainly the best.

The question then came up as to whether the Commission should recommend to you the very best thing they were capable of finding, or whether something less, something of inferior grade or quality, should be recommended. We had no doubt that you would expect us — and certainly we felt ourselves that it was the proper thing — to recommend the very best treatment for this piece of ground.

Having determined that a three hundred foot opening is necessary between the greatest monument in the world and one of the greatest domes in the world, the discussion went to supporting it by trees on each side. There again we examined

every notable avenue in Europe. We found that not less than four trees constituted an avenue. Three trees produced a bad effect, because no space is left in the centre and the composition becomes lop-sided. People walk either on one side or the other, whereas with four trees there is a valley under the trees with a great promenade on either side.

Then the distance apart for planting elms was considered, and many hundreds of elm trees were measured in order that we might not make a mistake in the distance which the trees should be placed apart, lengthwise or crosswise; and the result (fifty feet) represents our conclusion after a careful study. The effect of four trees is rich. There are some notable avenues in England which have six or even more, and there is a certain richness and beauty that convinced us of the propriety of recommending not fewer than four trees on each side of the central parkway vista. We felt that the scheme had better not be executed if only two trees on the sides were planted. It would be better not to attempt the development because the line of trees would be so thin and ineffective as to make this city a laughing-stock, instead of obtaining such an effect as the entire country has the right to expect of Congress.

I will say nothing of the general features of the scheme, other than to call attention to the fact that because the Washington Monument was pushed over by the engineers in order to find a better foundation, it became necessary to deflect the actual line of the axis slightly to the south. In the report of the Commission the recommendation was made that the Government buy all of the land between Maryland Avenue on the south and Pennsylvania Avenue on the north. It has been evident from the start that the building space on each side of the Mall would be inadequate for the buildings already in sight, and that in the future the Government would have to possess a great deal more land in order to accommodate its buildings.

In regard to Secretary Wilson's feeling that the treatment of the Mall should be natural instead of formal, that is a question of taste. It is a question for educated men to settle for this country. It is a question for this Committee. It is a question

for the Committee to settle, whether they will have the most beautiful thing that man can conceive or whether the park shall remain in its natural state. We do not feel that it can with propriety be left in its natural state. We do not think that in the midst of a great city, with formality all about it, informality should become the rule. We think with the Capitol at one end and the Monument at the other (two of the most formal things in the world) the treatment between these structures should be equally formal. It is not proposed by us, and never has been proposed by us, to build in the Mall a central avenue for traffic. We propose a great open vista and that vista is the great architectural feature if we may speak of landscape work as architectural. The centre is to be grass, like a green carpet, with roadways on each side, overhung by trees. The width of the Mall from building to building is a little greater than the length of the Capitol, as it should be. The Mall buildings form the architectural lines which lead up to the Capitol.

I want to say once more, in order to impress it upon the Committee, that the great height of the Monument, 555 feet, and the dome of the Capitol, influenced us. Things must be in proportion. If the Mall were short, a narrow parkway two hundred feet in width could be made, but such a narrow parkway would appear mean and insignificant in a park of the length and magnitude of the Washington Mall.

The Smithsonian Institution can be moved. To carry out our scheme would result in moving back the building, which now projects into the composition. I do not suppose there is a possibility in any city of the world of accomplishing a great purpose without some destruction. In Paris under Napoleon III they destroyed entire neighborhoods, and what was the result? The cost of his entire work is returned in profits from outsiders who go to visit Paris each year since the improvements were begun.

["Mr. Burnham," asked Senator Gallinger, "do you think the Agricultural building should be located on the north side of the Mall?"]

I do, most emphatically [was the reply]. If I could locate it where I wish, I would prefer the corner of Fifteenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. It should be placed in connection with other great governmental buildings having to do with the Executive department.

["Your idea," inquired Senator Newlands, "is to place Executive department buildings all around the White House?"]

Yes [replied Mr. Burnham], just as all the lands fronting the Capitol should be purchased and used as the location of buildings relating to the Legislative branch so the lands around the White House should be devoted to Executive buildings. Lafayette Square should be surrounded by Departmental buildings.

George B. Post, of New York, spoke briefly in favor of the Park Commission plans for the Mall, and W. S. Eames, of St. Louis, and Frank Miles Day, of Philadelphia, argued in favor of the Washington plans as an object lesson for the country. Mr. Hornblower explained that, so far as the north side of the Mall was concerned, his experience with the foundations of the new National Museum proved that there was no difficulty in getting foundations on that side of the Mall. Mr. Mundie and Mr. Olmsted spoke briefly. Mr. Kellogg, for the architects of the Agricultural building, said that it was perfectly feasible to place the new buildings either on the north or the south side, but that the north side was preferable.

The chairman, having appealed to Mr. McKim and Mr. Saint-Gaudens to state whether narrowing the space between the buildings on the Mall could be done without irreparable injury to the future beauty of the Mall, Mr. McKim replied that to narrow the space by a foot would be a fatal step, destructive of a great composition. "We have studied this enterprise very carefully," he said, "and have given our time and thought to it. We are firmly of the opinion that a greater rather

WASHINGTON: THE SENATE PARK COMMISSION PLAN, 1901, FOR UNION SQUARE ON THE WEST FRONT OF THE CAPITOL, NOW OCCUPIED BY THE BOTANIC GARDENS

The Grant Memorial stands in the centre

than a less width is desirable, and that not by a single inch should it be narrowed."

Acting on the McKim letter and the favorable report to the Senate on the Newlands bill, following the hearing, President Roosevelt wrote to Secretary Wilson asking him to locate the Agricultural building in accordance with the Park Commission plan of the Mall, and the newspapers printed the fact that such a request had been made. On the verification [1] of the report as to the President's action, the battle seemed won. Unfortunately the President's orders were disregarded by Secretary Wilson.

The tale of the subsequent proceedings was told by President Taft, who was Secretary of War at the time of the incident.

> The Mall [said President Taft] was Mr. McKim's chief anxiety lest Congress should forget that important part of the plan of the improvement of Washington. The cellar and the foundation for the Agricultural Department building had been begun, and some $8000 or $10,000 expended when it came to Mr. McKim's knowledge that the building, if erected according to that plan, would be a few feet too high and a few feet too near the centre; and he came to prevent it. The Secretary of Agriculture was not disposed to regard that variation from the plan as substantial, and was very much opposed to the change.
>
> Mr. McKim came to me, after Mr. Root left the Cabinet, as his only true sympathizer and friend, and asked me to speak to the President, whom he also regarded as a friend and sympathizer, but one who at times needed convincing. So I went to see the President and explained to him the situation, and he at once agreed that we ought to change it. "But," said he, "the trouble is with Uncle Jimmy, who has a real cause of complaint. He says that these architects have delayed too long,

[1] Telegrams exchanged between Charles Moore and William Loeb, Jr., Secretary to the President, dated April 18, 1904.

and the public money cannot be wasted and expended in this way."

"Well," said I, "can't we call a council, or something of that sort, and solemnly sit on the subject, and then finally reach the right conclusion?"

He said, "We can, and we will," and we did. Mr. McKim was of counsel and Mr. Green [1] and two or three others. The President took Mr. McKim to task at once on the audacity of architects who wait thirty and sixty days, until plans have been completed, and then come in and attempt to make a change. Well, that was not a very good beginning, and I am afraid that our brother McKim thought the jig was up. But it so suited the Secretary of Agriculture that when there appeared a suggestion from an engineer that possibly not $10,000, or $5000 would be sacrificed, but an economy might be introduced in another way, the Secretary, at the suggestion or the invitation of the President, said that he thought possibly it might be worked out that way, but the President insisted that if we did, we did not intend to waive the criticism that we had to make against the profession of architects by reason of their delay. And so we separated.

The Agricultural building was moved. McKim and I walked up the steps of the War Department. I said, "Mr. McKim, I congratulate you on your victory." He turned and looked at me a moment and said, "Was it a victory? Another such and I am dead." But it was a victory, and it illustrates his character in quietly pushing and pushing and pushing for the highest ideals of his art, and insisting on everything that was best, and in yielding in nothing that seemed to him a detriment and a retrograde step.[2]

After the conference, Mr. McKim sent to the President a memorandum suggesting that authority be granted through the

[1] Bernard R. Green, Superintendent of the Library of Congress, and Captain Sewell, U.S. Corps of Engineers, were present.

[2] Address of President Taft at the McKim memorial meeting of the American Institute of Architects, held at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, December 15, 1909.

Secretary of War that questions arising during the coming summer in reference to the location of the buildings of the Department of Agriculture and the National Museum be referred to representatives of the Government in collaboration with the Senate Park Commission. Acting on this suggestion, the President appointed as a Consultative Board the former Senate Park Commission with the addition of Bernard R. Green. The authority of the Senate Commission was held by some to be defective for lack of the concurrence of the House; the authority of the Consultative Board, which was simply an extra-legal creation of the President, rested on the willingness of those Government officials charged with erecting buildings to be guided by such expert advice. Congress might have put an end to this anomalous condition by creating a suitable commission; but there were to be six years more of uncertainty before Congress created such a body.

CHAPTER XVI

FAR WEST AND FAR EAST: SAN FRANCISCO MANILA, BAGUIO

1904–1905

WILLIAM H. TAFT, Secretary of War, summoned Mr. Burnham to Washington on April 24, 1904, and asked him to go to the Philippines to make plans for the old city of Manila and for the new summer capital at Baguio — a service he agreed to consider and finally accepted. On May 1, accompanied by Mrs. Burnham and their daughter Margaret, he arrived at San Francisco to carry on the work of making a plan for that city.

In February, 1902, Mr. Burnham, accompanied by Willis Polk, visited San Francisco to confer with a committee of the Merchants Exchange with a view to making a plan for San Francisco, and a contract was entered into. In October he made a second trip, with his son John, for the same purpose.

In January, 1903, the Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco was formed by about thirty of the leading citizens. The object of the Association was to promote the beautifying of the streets, public buildings, and parks of San Francisco, to stimulate civic pride in the improvement and care of private property, and, in a word, to make San Francisco a more agreeable city in which to live and work. The Outdoor Art League and the California chapter of the American Institute of Architects coöperated with the Association. As a preliminary step Mr. Burnham was invited to pre-

MR. BURNHAM AT TWIN PEAKS BUNGALOW, SAN FRANCISCO, 1905

pare a comprehensive plan for the adornment of San Francisco. He accepted the task, did the work without payment, the Association defraying his actual expenses and the salaries of those who worked with him.

At Mr. Burnham's request a bungalow, designed by Willis Polk, was built on a spur of Twin Peaks. From this point of vantage he commanded an outlook over the entire city, and also he secured intervals for uninterrupted study.[1] This brief visit was devoted to a series of dinners calculated to stir the community to zeal for a plan of their city; and on the 21st the party were back in Chicago.

On July 11 Burnham was in Washington with Peirce Anderson, Frederick Law Olmsted, and W. S. Eames, of St. Louis, president of the American Institute of Architects, to consult as to the plans for the new National Museum Building, designed by Hornblower & Marshall, of Washington, for a site on the Mall. As this was to be the first building to be located and constructed on the Mall according to the Plan of 1901, naturally the design was a matter of serious concern. Mr. McKim had worked out suggestions for changes, as appears from this letter:

[1] The Association comprised James D. Phelan, president; William G. Irwin, vice-president; Leon Sloss, treasurer; Thomas McCaleb, secretary; E. R. Taylor, William Grier Harrison, E. W. Hopkins, Henry J. Crocker, Charles E. Green, Alan Pollock, R. J. Taussig, A. H. Pason, Walter S. Martin, L. M. King, Fred Patek, John Partridge, N. B. Greensfelder, T. Cary Friedlander, W. A. Bissel, Herbert E. Law, Willis E. Davis, E. O. McCormick, P. N. Lilienthal, Frank J. Symmes, W. J. Bryne, F. W. Dohrmann, Bruce Porter, Captain R. H. Fletcher. The original membership was afterwards expanded to more than 400. See *Report of a Plan for San Francisco*, by Daniel H. Burnham, assisted by Edward Bennett, presented to the Mayor and Board of Supervisors by the Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco. Edited by Edward F. O'Day, September, 1905.

Chicago, 1904

MY DEAR CHARLES: I am very sorry to hear that you are out of health. You need a vacation and will be wise if you go soon. Why not do my stunt? An athlete comes and knocks at my door at 7.30 A.M. He puts me through for fifteen minutes and then gives me a cold shower from a sprinkler. When he leaves me every morning I can jump over the house. The beauty of it is that he never fails, and I have to turn out and do it regularly.

Saint-Gaudens writes that you have a scheme for the Museum doorway. I hope it does not project above the classic pediment line. We want the very best; more this time than hereafter, because this precedent will rule in the future, and do so with an iron hand. Don't let us have any self-assertion. Old George's serene spirit should rule throughout; let's have no jig-step in his minuet.

Yours

D. H. B.

Stopping at Philadelphia to do business with John Wanamaker, Burnham returned to Chicago in time to join a party going by special train to Nebraska City to celebrate Paul Morton's appointment as Secretary of the Navy in President Roosevelt's Cabinet. An old-fashioned stage-coach was requisitioned to convey the party to Arbor Lodge, Mark Morton doing the driving. For two days the large party celebrated, and then returned to Chicago by special train. Next followed a family party at Edward Ayer's home at Lake Geneva, with calls by motor-boat on the Charles Hutchinsons and the Martin Ryersons and supper in a log cabin at Indian Mount. The first of August found the family at Charlevoix as guests of the E. C. Wallers, with fishing, golf, and cards for recreations.

The Philippine decision was announced in this telegram:

CELEBRATING PAUL MORTON'S ENTRANCE INTO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S CABINET AT ARBOR LODGE, NEBRASKA CITY
JULY 17, 1904

D. H. B. to Charles Moore

August 26, 1904

DEAR CHARLES: I am going to the Philippines, sailing on the Mongolia, on the 13th of October. Why can you not come along? It would be fine to have the old set. I may take Anderson. The first work is to be in San Francisco from the middle of September; then we sail. Bennett will be in the San Francisco planning and will develop the things while I am in Luzon, and be ready to render them when I return. The work now in hand is delightful. Can you come over and spend a day soon and go into it all — Chicago, San Francisco, and Manila.

Yours ever

D. H. BURNHAM

On hearing that Burnham was willing to undertake the work in the Philippines, Charles McKim wrote an enthusiastic letter to Secretary Taft, expressing satisfaction thereat. This called out a response:

D. H. B. to Charles McKim

Chicago, September 14, 1904

MY DEAR CHARLES: I have no doubt but that your letter to Secretary Taft will strengthen me in his mind as an artist and a man of good taste, although he has been cordial beyond my deserts already. I have not failed to notice that whenever you come in contact with any of my friends, they seem afterwards to have an accession of faith in me. It is a fine thing in this world to have some one strengthen your hands behind your back as you do for me. I assure you that I appreciate it.

What you say to me is always heard with a keen ear. I should be disappointed in any large undertaking of mine, if I did not get your word sooner or later.

The San Francisco work has been to the fore about one year and the Philippine work about six months. I should have written to you before had I not heard that you were in Europe when I returned from the west four months ago.

You had evidently forgotten that you wrote to me before concerning the Walters proposition.[1] It is a generous thing on his part and should surely be followed by large gifts from others.

I am leaving here for San Francisco on Sunday and expect to sail for the Orient on the Mongolia on October 13. Mr. Anderson will be my assistant in Luzon and Mr. Bennett in San Francisco. The latter is the man who was on the West Point design which Stanford White has praised for its beauty in all companies and places. What a bully fellow Stanford White is! His sort warms the cockles of one's heart.

We are very far advanced now with the Field Museum. I have been wishing you could see it and hope you can on my return. I feel pretty confident you are going to like the work. With best regards, and good-bye,

Yours as ever

D. H. B.

The Diary records:

September 20. D. H. B. and Edward Bennett *en route* for San Francisco over the new way through Salt Lake; almost the first train to cross this improvement. It was afternoon and the scene was one of superlative beauty, the foreground pure white salt and the lake and mountains like a delicate opal, the clouds matching. I never again expect to see a scene of such unearthly beauty. Great white pelicans were floating on the pinkish, silvery water.

September 21. No hay fever to-day.

September 22. Went out with Willis Polk to see the new shanty on Twin Peaks. McCaleb met us. Keith came to lunch.

September 27. D. H. B. dined with Pollock and friends in honor of Charles Schwab.

September 28. Up quite early and at noon started up for permanent residence at Twin Peaks. The afternoon and evening of surpassing beauty; our shanty a charmer; Polk came with a Jap, Polk cooked. Had soup, steak, salad, and omelet, with

[1] Henry Walters bought the Villa Mirafiore for the American Academy in Rome and held it till the Academy could pay.

good, red wine; the best dinner we ever had. We all three sat on the east porch until 10 o'clock and saw the moon rise over Diable in the distance and shine on the China basin far below us. We reluctantly retired at last, each on his cot, without sheets or pillows.

September 29. Up at 7 A.M. Polk cooked breakfast; then came McFadden and others; then the new Jap, who calls himself Fred. We are to try him at $30 per month. Lunch at shack, Bennett and I; Polk came to dinner and we three slept in the shack.

September 30. Burnham and Bennett breakfasted at the shack 7 A.M.; very good; went to see Schwerin of the Pacific Mail and lunched with him; then to Keith's[1] and Dr. Taylor's, and all three went up to the shack and lunched with Mr. Bennett; then sat on the hill to talk over the landscape. The house is being ceiled inside; heavy fog and wind. Burnham and Bennett dined together at shack; very good. Bed at 10 after reading and talking before the fire.

October 2. Up at 7 A.M. breakfast; went to Rev. Joseph Worcester's church; then back to lunch. Afternoon and evening spent on the problems of the end of the Panhandle; Burnham making many arrangements of this with his own hands; dinner at shack and bed at 10.30.

[1] William Keith, known as "the prophet painter," was born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, in 1839; he came to New York with his mother in 1851, and became a wood-engraver for Harper & Brothers and others. In 1859 he went to California and began to paint landscapes. At the age of thirty he studied at the Düsseldorf Academy, from whose influences he slowly liberated himself. A great mimic, he enjoyed vastly the visits of congenial friends to his studio on Montgomery Street, in the heart of Old San Francisco. A daily visitor was the Reverend Joseph Worcester, whose home on Russian Hill always welcomed Mr. Keith. John Muir, the naturalist; Edward Robeson Taylor, poet; Theodore Hittell, historian, and a multitude of other San Francisco personages frequented the Old Studio, where Keith painted dazzling peaks and misty valleys, and taught boys and girls to love nature and to attempt to paint it. On one of his visits to California George Inness shared the Keith studio. Mr. Burnham was in and out of the studio during his various visits; he was an ardent admirer of Keith's work and owned a number of his paintings. Keith died in Berkeley, California, in 1911. His fame is such as to bring many spurious Keiths into the market.

October 3. Lunched at the Union League Club with Schwerin and his friends; saw Senator Newlands and others and came back to Twin Peaks where we dined, and spent the evening.

October 4. Up at 6.30; breakfasted, and took walk on the highest peaks studying lay of the ground; Phelan called; spent day at work.

October 11. Went to Fort Mason, picked up Captain Feisen, who drove us over to see Colonel Pitcher of the 28th Infantry at the Presidio; dinner at the Bohemian Club as guest of Mr. James Phelan. There were fifteen or sixteen others.

October 12. Gave luncheon to friends in San Francisco at the Pacific Union Club; Mayor Phelan, Edward Ayer of Chicago, Edward Eyre of San Francisco, Alan Pollock, Willis Polk, Edward Bennett of Chicago, McCaleb, Edward Hopkins of San Francisco, Colonel Pitcher, U.S.A., William Bourn. Dinner with Mr. and Mrs. Polk.

October 13. Went on board the Mongolia for Honolulu and Yokohama; saw the three boys on the roof as we left, — Polk, Bennett, and Dutton; lunch on steamer; party D. H. Burnham and wife and daughter Margaret, Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Eyre, General and Mrs. Corbin.

October 16. General Corbin and D. H. B. attended divine worship together.

October 19. Landed at Honolulu about 11 A.M. and went out to the Beach Hotel.

October 23. Crossed the 180th and lost this day.

October 30. Arrived at Yokohama at noon; took jinrickshaws for Grand Hotel.

October 31. Burnhams and the Ayers went to Tokio by rail, took rooms at the Imperial Hotel, rickshawed around wonderful walls covered with pine trees; dined at the American Minister's, Lloyd Griscom's; guests — Lieutenant-General Sir William Nicholson, English Minister MacDonald and wife, Belgian Minister and wife, Japanese Ministers of War and Navy and Foreign Affairs, Countess Oyama and daughter, Messrs. Wilson, Robson, and others.

November 1. Burnham and Eyre called at the Legations;

WILLIAM KEITH

dined with Huntington Wilson and wife at the house of the First Secretary.

November 2. Party rickshawed all day; lunched at Mano Park Restaurant on the border of the Lotus Lake; then Sheba, guide, said: "Sho Gun buried here, but they keep his spirit over there in that Temple."

November 3. All went to a review of the Japanese troops (8000 men in line) by Mikado and Crown Prince; luncheon with Ferguson, Second Secretary of the Legation at his house; coffee in the garden; met Miller, our Consul-General at New Chwang; then Eyre and Burnham went to the Sheba Temples by rickshaw.

November 7. Party at hotel in Nikko; went to see the Temples and waterfalls.

November 9. Lunched with the Griscoms and went to the lawn party of Sir Charles and Lady MacDonald, who are the British Legation people. Dined at the hotel as it was Mrs. Burnham's birthday; she had Mr. Priestley as guest, as it was also his birthday.

November 11. Went to large garden of Marquis "Someone"; then to Huntington Wilson's for lunch; then to Mikado's garden party where we saw him and his family; dinner at Marsh's, Naval attaché of the Legation.

November 19. Katayama, the Imperial architect, took Mr. and Mrs. Burnham to the Imperial Gardens after lunching with us.

November 23. At the Yaami Hotel at Kioto where we found the Eyres; went to Chouin Temple; saw geisha dancing.

November 24. Saw the temples, and in the evening saw the great Japanese wrestling matches.

November 27. Mrs. Burnham and Margaret went on board the Mongolia, bound for Honolulu.

December 1. D. H. B., the Ayers, Captain Moss, and Peirce Anderson started South early in the morning on the S.S. Doric, saw the Great Archipelago and the Inland Sea all day.

December 3. Burnham and Anderson worked over city problems; weather beautiful.

December 5. Heavy storm at night; slight qualm which passed away as soon as in bed.

December 7. Manila. Up early, all packed; young Hathaway, the secretary of Mr. Forbes, came out early on the Government launch to take us to shore. Anderson and I were given the courtesy of the port of Manila, which meant that our baggage was not examined. Went at once to the house of Commissioner W. Cameron Forbes,[1] who has charge of commerce and the constabulary of the Philippines.

December 8. D. H. Burnham and Anderson at the house of W. Cameron Forbes; Mr. Forbes arrived from a trip up the Islands with Governor Wright[2] and spent the day driving around the city with Burnham and Anderson. D. H. B. dined at the Corbins' with the Ayers and Robinsons. General Corbin and staff and our three went to Camp McKinley by river on the Government launch in the afternoon and saw a wonderful sunset coming back.

December 9. Drove around the city with Mr. Forbes and went out to the battleship Wisconsin to dine with the Captain, the Corbins, the Tuckers, and others. Admiral Sterling also at the dinner on board, as it is his flagship; minstrel show in the evening and supper on board at midnight.

December 10. Arrived home at 1.30 A.M. and slept until 7.45, then had shower and breakfast and took carriage with Anderson for the city where the morning was spent seeing members of the Navy and working over the problems of the new city plan; lunch at Mr. Forbes's; General Allen, Colonel Harbin, and another colonel, all of them being officers of the constabulary, were present. In the evening Forbes, Anderson, and Burnham called on Governor Luke E. Wright. As we were coming away,

[1] W. Cameron Forbes, of Milton, Massachusetts, a grandson of Ralph Waldo Emerson; member of the Philippine Commission, and secretary of commerce and police in the Philippino Government, 1904–08; vice-governor, 1908–09; governor-general, 1909–13. Mr. Forbes is unmarried and the men kept bachelors-hall with him.

[2] Luke E. Wright, of Memphis, Tennessee, president of the Philippine Commission; governor-general, 1904–06; ambassador to Japan, 1906–07; Secretary of War in President Roosevelt's cabinet, 1908–09.

Governor Wright cut his finger on a creese which the Sultan of Sulu had just given him.

December 11. Up at 5.45 A.M. Forbes, Anderson, and Burnham took Navy tug up the river, then to the lake and across, then up the river to the falls; two lawyers, Colonels Baker and Harbin, General Allen, all aboard; also several others. Going up to the falls we went in a dug-out, each man paddled by two Filipinos; went to Pasig Town at 9 P.M., as we were coming down, and called on Governor Daneil of that province, who had a fiesta that day. Found him expecting us and we sat down to a sumptuous dinner at 10 P.M. Reached home at 12 o'clock.

December 14. All up early; drove to Billibid Prison and surveyed the town from the tower; dropped Forbes at the fort offices and Anderson and I went to our offices in the Municipal Building. We had a victoria and span to ourselves all the time, and a China boy body servant for the two of us. Spent afternoon over the plan of Manila; dined on battleship Wisconsin with Admiral Sterling, the Eyres, Corbins, and others. The Ayers and Corbins left on their launch to take the Ingalls for a trip among the Islands.

December 15. Went with Dean Worcester,[1] one of the Commissioners, to the insane hospital and inspected it; then to their own offices in the Municipal Building; dined at home with Forbes, Admiral Sterling, Captain Cotton, who stayed all night, also several Filipinos.

December 18. D. H. B. sick at Forbes's; Doctor Strong called, said no danger, and gave medicine.

December 19. Went to dinner at house of Governor Wright as guest of honor, about 20 men being present.

December 20. Up at 4.30 A.M. Took special train for the North with Commissioners Forbes and Worcester and Mrs. Worcester, Higgins the railroad manager, and Major Carter;

[1] Dean Conant Worcester, member of the Steere Scientific Expedition to the Philippine Islands, 1887–88; one of the two conductors of the Menage Scientific Expedition, 1900–03; professor in Michigan University, 1895–99; member of the Philippine Commission and secretary of the Insular Government, 1901–13. Now secretary to the president of Visayan Refining Company; resides at Cebu, P.I.

arrived at the end of the road at noon and lunched under the station shed. Took two four-horse teams, changing horses once, and arrived at Camp "4," Colonel Kennon's, at about 7; were delightfully entertained at dinner and by the native band. Mrs. Kennon a very delightful woman and hostess. Forbes, Worcester, and Burnham occupied the same room on separate cots at the Kennons' for the night.

December 21. Forbes and Worcester went ahead from the Kennons' to Baguio early in the forenoon. Burnham, Anderson, and Dr. C. went after lunch very regretfully. They walked over new road and took horses at the base of the mountain trail and reached Baguio Sanitarium at 7 P.M. Dined in the latter place and slept in Wright's summer house.

December 22. Breakfasted at the Sanitarium at Baguio; then went up on the proposed Governor's location near Wright's dwelling house; also walked around the town site below; lunched at the Sanitarium, dined at our own house, our China boys having arrived. Bed 9 P.M., D. H. B. slightly uneasy inside.

December 25. Christmas. All three, Burnham, Forbes, and Anderson, spent the day at Baguio at the Governor's house; Colonel Knight and Major Penn of General Corbin's staff were with us.

December 28. D. H. B. in house all day.

December 30. D. H. B., Peirce Anderson, and Governor Pack went down to the Big Spring in the morning, and at 1 P.M., Burnham, Anderson, Haywood, the engineer, and Mrs. Worcester started for Kennon's Camp "4"; went to the bottom of the Big Zig-Zag, walked down near the bottom, took horse, rode to Kennon's, reached there at 7 P.M., after six hours ride (and a very hard one) on the way down to the Zig-Zag.

Saw far away over the mountains the Langayen Gulf out at sea, a most magnificent sight; found Forbes at the Kennons', dined delightfully with him and his wife, the band playing, went to bed at 10.30, but D. H. B. did not sleep all night — too tired.

December 31. D. H. B., Forbes, Anderson, and Mrs. Wor-

BAGUIO, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

BREAKFAST PORCH, W. CAMERON FORBES'S HOUSE, BAGUIO, P.I.

cester were called at 4.30, breakfasted at 5.30 and took wagons at Camp "4" and started down the road for Dagupan, the head of the railway, and reached the latter town at 1 P.M., after a very fatiguing journey; found special train there with Higgins, general manager, in charge. Had lunch on board. Arrived at Manila at 7 and dined at home, Forbes's house.

January 2, 1905. D. H. B. and Anderson along river front looking at same in the city; called on Mrs. Corbin and Governor Wright, who were holding receptions.

January 5. Spent until noon over the transportation house and drawing money from the Government for expenses; Henry Peabody of Boston at luncheon; went out to the Rainbow, flagship of Admiral Train, and spent the evening.

January 6. Up at 5 A.M., breakfasted with the Corbins at 6 A.M. Drove to Camp McKinley with General Corbin and came back with him in the launch, landing at the Monument at 9.30; thence Burnham went to City Hall where he spent the morning with Anderson.

January 8. Drove to Monument and met General Corbin on the Government launch and went over to Cavite.

January 11. Went out on hand-cars; spent afternoon with the commissioners.

January 12. Forbes breakfasted early and disappeared; Burnham and Anderson breakfasted at 8.30, went to the State building and spent some time; came home to lunch with Forbes and Major Anderson. Dinner at General Corbin's; Governor Wright and Admiral Sterling were present, also General Randall and Captain Clover of the battleship Wisconsin.

January 16. At three went to Monument dock and found Forbes; boarded launch and General Corbin came aboard. We left Manila at 4 P.M. for good, to take S.S. Fremont. Mr. Forbes came on board and left us at 9 on his own launch. We slept on board ship; noise of loading hemp all night.

January 17. Up at 7.30; had a good sea-water bath, took breakfast, went on deck; ship went over to Maravales and anchored in the bay to take on men and complete the quarantine, then sailed at 10.45 A.M. for Hong Kong; beautiful day

on the China Sea, calm weather, found Mr. Beechboard of Hudson, Michigan, on board. We had met him at Governor Pack's at Baguio.

January 18. On board Fremont in China Sea, out of sight of land; weather beautiful, water entirely smooth; evening air grew cooler and we enjoyed it; still wore white flannels; Anderson worked on General Corbin's house; not a ship in sight all day. This is the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of Edwin Burnham, wife, and five children in Chicago, where they arrived on the evening of the 18th of January, 1855, at the old dock of the Michigan Central Railroad, at the foot of Lake Street; Daniel H. Burnham then eight years and four months old.

January 19. We were coming into magnificent harbor of Hong Kong; scene was most interesting; went ashore in launch, found a Chinese guide, then went up on the mountain by rail and chair and to China town; then to the ship on a sampan.

January 20. Watched the loading and the harbor, especially life in the sampans. Up anchor at 1 and started for Japan; many men-of-war in the harbor. This was my wedding day.

January 21. Worked on Baguio in the afternoon and evening.

January 22. Worked on Baguio scheme all day.

January 24. Arrived at Moji; worked on Baguio and amused ourselves.

January 26. Finished coaling and started for Inland Sea and Kobe; spent afternoon going through the Inland Sea.

January 27. Landed at Kobe early in the forenoon; took lunch at Oriental Hotel, then cars to Osaka, then to the old castle of Hideoshe; then cars to Kyoto and put up at the Yaama Hotel.

January 28. Visited the Temple and the Mikado's summer palace, the cloisonné makers and the National Fencing and Wrestling School. Anderson went to Osaka for a photographic kit and did not return at night.

January 29. Visited the very splendid palace in town and again the cloisonné makers; this is a perfection. Read in the evening while the young men went to the theatre.

January 30. D. H. B. and Anderson, with the guide, "Sano," went to the great new temples at Tokio and then to the Bishop's house, which is Hideoshe's old palace.

January 31. Arrived at Tokio at 9 A.M. and went to the Imperial Hotel; Huntington Wilson met Burnham with his carriage and took him to the Club; they rickshawed to see the Stairs, then to the train for Nikko, where we arrived at 8.30 P.M.

February 2. Went to the Greay Avenue, took train for Tokio at 9 A.M. Spent night at the house of Hon. Huntington Wilson, dining there with Marchioness Oyama and daughter and other guests.

February 4. Went aboard Siberia with Sano; Anderson came in the afternoon; ship sailed about 6.30 P.M. About 60 passengers, among others about a dozen young Russian officers paroled from Port Arthur, which fell a month ago. Very comfortable quarters.

February 6. On board Siberia. Ashmead-Bartlett and Mr. Hamilton of Tokio with us at the Captain's table.

February 7. Met the buyers of Marshall Field & Company, Carson-Pirie-Scott & Company; played cards in the smoking-room.

February 8. We were called by Ah Sin, who comes in and valets us, bringing coffee, and who takes care of our clothes; altogether a good servant.

February 13. Arrived at Honolulu and went to the hotel to find Mrs. Burnham and Margaret; visited the gardens and aquarium.

February 19. Saw land at sea and by 8 o'clock health officer of San Francisco came on board; at dock at 10 o'clock, going through the customs, and in the afternoon D. H. B. and Anderson moved up to Bennett's shack on Twin Peaks, where they dined and slept.

February 20. D. H. B., Anderson, and Bennett breakfasted at Twin Peaks and spent the day. Mrs. Burnham and Margaret came up in the afternoon and lunched with the gentlemen.

February 21. James D. Phelan came up and stayed to luncheon; D. H. B. went down with him in his automobile and returned at dinner time with the ladies.

February 22. D. H. B., Anderson, and Bennett breakfasted together at Twin Peaks, after which Bennett went down in auto and called at the offices of D. H. Burnham & Company and met the two brothers Stern, who gave him an order for a tall building on Union Square, San Francisco; then met Lloyd and others and gave them figures on the cost of the proposed Masonic Building; then saw De Young and Dutton about De Young's new additions to the Chronicle Building; then went up to Twin Peaks in auto with Willis Polk, Anderson, and Keith, the artist, all of whom lunched and dined at the shack, Bennett and Anderson going down town to leave room enough for the three others.

February 23. Worked with the boys all day and evening; went to bed and then got up again and went to walk until morning with Bennett and Anderson, a dark mood giving away to light.

February 24. Mrs. Burnham and Margaret came in auto and took D. H. B. to Uncle Joe Worcester's and Mr. Keith's; returned to Twin Peaks with Mrs. Burnham, who stayed to lunch. Ed Hopkins, Babcock, and other gentlemen came to see us at Twin Peaks, and late in the day Anderson left for the city, proposing to go home Saturday morning.

February 26. D. H. B. excused himself to De Young from going to his house to dine because of sore foot; stayed in shack all day and in bed quite early.

February 27. Called on De Young and others and came back to Twin Peaks to dine; lunched with Keith and Polk at the restaurant near the studio; but Muir did not come.

March 2. Mr. and Mrs. Burnham dined at Mrs. Crocker's.

March 9. D. H. B., wife, and daughter reached Chicago at 9 A.M. Went to the office and stayed all day.

March 12. (Sunday.) At home all day. Margaret and George Lord, Peabodys, Ewens, Woodyatts, Curtis Remy, and others present during the day.

Looking back over the Philippine work, Mr. Burnham felt that it was good. These feelings he summed up in this letter:

D. H. B. to Charles Moore

March 13, 1905

The dive into the Orient has been like a dream. The lands, the people, and their customs are all very strange and of absorbing interest. It surprises me to find how much this trip has modified my views, not only regarding the extreme East, but regarding ourselves and all our European precedents. It will take time to get a true perspective of it all in my mind.

I have thought of you constantly on my trip, though more particularly while in San Francisco. The scheme of streets and parks for that city is on paper and is a superb thing. We come now to the compilation of the Report. . . . I have n't even a faint hope that you can join me in this; but if it were possible it would make my skies clear.

The Manila scheme is very good. The Baguio scheme is emerging and begins to warrant a hope of something unusual among cities.

CHAPTER XVII

THE HARVARD YARD—A DIP INTO THE WILDERNESS

1905

IT was Mr. Burnham's practice each day to note briefly in his Diary the people he met, the topics discussed, the decisions reached, and any circumstances the date of which might be important. This he did for his own protection against people who either from bad memory or design might make misstatements as to past occurrences. These diaries, hastily written as they are, give quick glimpses of the life, both social and professional, of a surpassingly busy man, and also reveal his method of work. The Diary for 1905 has this brief record:

March 24. D. H. B. breakfasted at A. B. Wells's house in Southbridge, and later joined Anderson at the Touraine Hotel in Boston. Went with Anderson out to Harvard, where we met Frank Millet; spent the day; dined with Professor Norton and others at Norton's house; and took midnight train for New York.

Thereby hangs a tale. Of the visit to "Shady Hill," the Norton home, Mr. Burnham left no further record. Miss Sara Norton writes that her father "had a real, a great admiration for Mr. Burnham; his work in Chicago, his attitude to his profession, his aims, his large and generous intelligence — if I can so describe it — and when they met it was on terms of cordial understanding and, I believe, general agreement. I remember clearly the pleasure Mr. Burnham's visits (not frequent and

DANIEL H. BURNHAM AND FRANK D. MILLET
From a drawing by Simmons

usually combined with some committee business or the like) brought to my father. It was partly through acquaintance with Mr. Burnham that my father came to have, in his later years, such a warm belief in the destiny the West was carving for itself, through its energy and high civic purposes, which men like Mr. Burnham embodied."

The particular business of this visit was to devise means to bring back to the Harvard College Yard that sense of order and unity which the early builders so clearly understood, but which their successors during the past seventy-five years have carelessly or ignorantly disregarded.

On October 12, 1904, Charles Francis Adams had written to Mr. Burnham that it was the practice of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University annually to appoint from their own body and from the community at large committees to visit the different departments and courses of instruction.[1]

> The organization of these committees [he wrote] devolves on me as chairman of the standing committee on Reports and Resolutions. Among these committees is one which has given me a great deal of trouble. I consider it the most important of all the committees. The chairman is Professor Charles Eliot Norton and its province relates to all questions of art and architecture connected with the University, whether courses of instruction or architectural results projected or achieved.
>
> The most glaring failure in connection with Harvard University administration during the last seventy years has been the efforts at architecture. The Yard, as we call it, is a standing reproach to us and to the generation which preceded us. An architectural crazy-quilt, about every educated architect for

[1] Mr. Millet and Mr. Anderson were Harvard College graduates; and Mr. Burnham's degree of Master of Arts, bestowed by Harvard in 1893, entitled him to all the powers and privileges of a graduate, including the right to vote for members of the Board of Overseers.

the last fifty years has tried his hand at it; and each one, speaking generally, has left it a little worse than it was before.

The only possible remedy is to agitate the matter and thus gradually to work out a more satisfactory result.

Professor Norton, since he became a member of the Board of Overseers, has had this matter in charge. You are one of those to whom the credit belongs of having achieved the great result worked out in the Chicago Exposition of 1893. You have since, I believe, been connected with the Plan for the permanent improvements at Washington. I write on behalf of the committee having the matter in charge to ask if you will consent to serve on the committee to visit the course in Fine Arts and Architecture, of which Professor Norton is, as I have said, the head. This would involve no active labor on your part other than a visit to Boston and Cambridge during the present academic year.

As the time approached for a meeting of the Committee, Professor Norton arranged a dinner at "Shady Hill," on the 24th of March, 1905. The other members of the Committee were Frank D. Millet, Francis Bartlett, S. D. Warren, and Edward Robinson,[1] of Boston. Mr. Norton stated that the chief duty of the Committee was to attempt to improve the system of building — a system which had resulted in practical chaos. The preparation of the report fell to Mr. Burnham and Mr. Millet. Mr. Millet ventured to say that in the preparation of the report they should state the case as frankly and as directly as they could, even if they might be charged with brusqueness approaching brutality. "They need to have a lesson read them; they deserve a hit straight from the shoulder

[1] Francis Bartlett, of the class of 1862; Samuel D. Warren, of the class of 1875; and Edward Robinson, of the class of 1879, then director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; since 1910 director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

— that's the only thing that will touch them at all." Both Mr. Burnham and Mr. Millet prepared reports. On April 24, Mr. Millet sent his draft to Mr. Burnham, saying: "You will see mine is quite different from yours and more brutal. Do with it what you like. You know I have no false pride and I have the greatest confidence in your judgment."

The report, signed by Burnham and Millet, was addressed to Professor Norton and is as follows:

The undersigned, members of the Committee on Fine Arts and Architecture, after visiting Cambridge and examining the buildings and grounds, in compliance with instructions accompanying their appointment by the Board of Overseers, beg to submit the following statement:

Fifty years ago Harvard College possessed buildings of simple construction and unpretentious character, built of similar material, of the same style and color, and so located with reference to one another as to present the appearance of a well-ordered group. Harvard College now possesses many buildings of expensive construction, but of unrelated architecture, and so located with reference to one another as to give an impression of incongruity. Lack of reciprocal arrangement, coupled with absence of uniform style, color, and scale, has produced this condition. Each of the buildings erected in recent years has seemed to assert itself and clash with its neighbor, so that in spite of the architectural excellence of certain of them individually considered the total effect is disorderly.

The unfortunate results of this condition are obvious. That the college, viewed as a national institution, should present an exterior out of harmony with its high functions is unfitting; that the college, viewed in its more intimate relation, should leave in the minds of its graduates a memory of inharmonious surroundings, is more regrettable; yet even these drawbacks are small compared with the positive disorderly and lasting influence exerted by such surroundings on the undergraduate mind in its most formative period. In the regular ordering of

the intellectual life of its students, in the methodical grouping of the collections contained in its museums and libraries, the university shows its belief that sound teaching rests on order and system. But should not the definite work of the lecture room, the museum, and laboratory be supplemented by proper material environment? In the upbuilding in the minds of its students of those ideals for which the university desires to stand who can overestimate the value of beautiful surroundings, silently but surely instilling their lesson of good order? If order and system are requisite in intellectual work, are they not equally so in those material conditions amidst which the work is done? It should be borne in mind that while only certain of the students enter deeply enough into the intellectual life of the university to reap the full benefit of its training, yet all of them, by the mere fact of their residence in Cambridge, are subjected to the insistent teaching of their material environment. The one pervasive influence, in short, that is common to the lives of all Harvard men is that of the outward aspect of the university.

That the condition outlined above has arisen in spite of the employment by the university of able and experienced architects is proof enough that no good results can be achieved through building operations uncontrolled by a general plan. Beautiful buildings, if inharmonious, will never constitute a beautiful group; and no beauty of general effect will result from the casual work of architects separately employed in the design of buildings bearing no fixed relation to one another in a general scheme. Even a well-meant effort on the part of a thoughtful architect to follow a plan of his own devising for a part of the general scheme, will fail through the employment of his successor.

Lack of order in our American cities and universities has been the rule. With a few notable exceptions, such as the city of Washington and the University of Virginia, all of them have developed the evils to be expected from the lack of a systematic plan and until very recently there has been no sign of better things. However, the last decades of the nineteenth century

THE HARVARD COLLEGE YARD
Showing the orderly arrangement of the older buildings

have made possible a broader education in America, of which one of the most notable indications is a desire for good order which has recently expressed itself in a definite movement toward the methodical grouping of public buildings in connection with good settings. Among universities the Johns Hopkins, Chicago, Columbia, and Stanford have comprehensive plans for organic growth. Among cities Cleveland, New York, San Francisco, and Washington have plans providing for immediate improvements as well as future development. Each of these universities and cities may thus hope, in the course of time, to possess the higher beauty and convenience of well-organized grouping. The desire for a beautiful and practical arrangement has made itself felt as a governmental necessity at the capital, where the President has entered actively into the work. Should not Harvard University foster this movement by its own example?

The creation of new buildings and settings worthy to stand as examples of consistent architecture is now made possible through the recent acquisition by the university of large tracts of land on both sides of the Charles River. Existing conditions in the Yard and adjacent territory, while more difficult to treat, are yet susceptible of much improvement at comparatively small cost.

The undersigned, therefore, believing that improvement does not come except as the result of a design worked out logically in obedience to an initial governing plan, have the honor to recommend that such a plan be made and adopted by the university.

April 27, 1905

The reports seem to have produced the effect on the Overseers counted on by Mr. Adams, who, in a letter, dated June 14, 1905, to Mr. Millet, says:

The reports were read in a very effective manner before the Board of Overseers by Professor Norton at the last meeting of the Board and listened to with an attention which was impres-

sive. They evidently went home. They were ordered to be printed at once and Professor Norton yesterday told me that he had corrected the proof-sheets. They have not yet been circulated among the Overseers.

I would like very much to see you and Burnham on this subject. When you come on here next with him, you must arrange both of you to dine and pass a night with me. The fact is Norton is now engaged in what is for him the work of a lifetime; that is, he is trying to repair the almost irreparable damage which has been done to Harvard in an architectural way within the last forty years. The most that can now be done is to start the work of reform. It will occupy at least a century and a half. In the first place, however, the foundations have got to be laid, and they must be laid deep down.

As you and Burnham intimate in your two reports, the building results at Harvard during the last forty to sixty years amount to nothing more nor less than an architectural crazy-quilt. It is a disgrace; and I imagine that Eliot's long administration will hereafter be judged by it. We have had several debates on the subject in the Board of Overseers and not one word has been said in defence of what has been done. Nevertheless, further abominations have since been perpetrated and yet others are now in contemplation. These, Norton is trying to influence and arrest; and you and Burnham are his agents — the prophets of the new dispensation! An elaborate report of the most aggressive character would now be of almost inestimable value. Do not, therefore, for a moment suppose that your work is ineffective or otherwise than fruitful of results. It is educational and elementary, but none the less necessary.

Mr. Millet's separate report took the form of a letter to Mr. Norton. Being himself a graduate of Harvard, Mr. Millet was under no restraints such as those which Mr. Burnham felt rested upon him as the holder of an honorary degree. He was ready to be plain, but impersonally so. In his letter to Mr. Norton, Mr. Millet said:

We, who have been out of college some years, always think of Harvard as the group of simple brick structures, beginning with Dane Hall, and ending with Holworthy, and with University Hall across the Yard as the focus of a partly completed composition. These buildings are, to the public, exactly what they are to us — the real Harvard. They were designed with taste and were located in accordance with a plan which evidently contemplated the future development of the group on orderly lines. Within the last few decades the growth of the university has been so rapid, and the preoccupation with the immediate necessities and the practical questions has been so great, that all considerations of order, system, and plan have been ignored.

From the orderly beginnings in the Yard a disorder has spread and straggled in every direction, until the buildings, most of them representing ephemeral fashions in architecture, suggest in grouping and in detail the competitions of commercial enterprises. They distort the vision and distract the mind, and some of them are ill-adapted to the uses for which they were intended. A stroll across the Yard is an object lesson in architectural discord.

While I believe that something could be done to rectify the mistakes of the past, I am sure the future development is a more important problem. This does not now present great difficulties.

The university expansion will doubtless be to the south; to the river and across it. This extension of university grounds, if properly carried out, will, by the force of a logical design, bring back to the university what it has lost, and establish for all time its high position in art as well as in education.

The natural focus of this extension is the library, which, if it be rebuilt and properly located, will dominate, as it ought to dominate, by its character and its position, the whole composition. The slope of the land to the river-bank, and the broad open plain beyond, with its background of distant hills, offers a wide area particularly suggestive of monumental treatment, admitting of practically unlimited extension. Such a develop-

ment will carry out on large lines the original intentions of the founders of the university; it will be of great practical advantage in the work of the university, establishing a centre of activity and interest; it will be a good investment because public taste is rapidly improving and wealth will surely flow to an institution which shows a purpose to meet the public demand for the best there is in art.

If the university recognizes the value of an orderly arrangement of its buildings in a manner which shall give the impression of a great institution of learning, it will adopt a course which has been thoroughly tested and found effective in various cities of this country, and which has long been employed abroad. A commission of experts should be appointed to decide on all questions of taste, and their decision on these points should be final. This commission should be instructed to select a plan to provide for immediate development strictly in the direction of future accomplishment of a consistent and orderly scheme. The character of the buildings recently erected, or now in process of erection, is a cogent reason for the immediate appointment of such a commission.

It is now fifteen years since these reports were submitted, and during this period matters have gone on from bad to worse. There is still no plan, and no effective feeling for one, although the Harvard departments of architecture and landscape architecture are leading influences in the promotion of city planning throughout the country and in training the men who are doing the work elsewhere. The disorder noted by Mr. Burnham and Mr. Millet has been multiplied by the erection of an immense library, which throws out of scale all other buildings in the Yard. With unconscious irony Frank Millet's friends have placed a small bronze bust of him in one of the vast spaces of this building, — a voice crying in the wilderness, as yet. Excellent as is the group of freshman dormitories, still

this group is unrelated to the Yard. In his day Charles McKim put forth his best endeavors to bring the university back to colonial "bricks and mortar"; but he was unable to accomplish a general plan for the future development of his *alma mater*. With the death of the men who have felt the necessity for a logical and harmonious development of the university on its physical side, Harvard now stands almost alone among institutions of learning in adhering to the practice of the American dark ages by continuing to build without either a plan or the sense of the need of a plan.

William R. Mead wrote to Burnham, September 5, 1905:

> McKim has had a temporary knock-out, the result of hard and continuous work and interest in many things outside of his office. I saw him on Saturday at Narragansett Pier, where he is resting, and his doctor assured me that it is only temporary, and that he will be about again in a few days, although we intend to send him off on a long vacation immediately on his return. Meantime, one of the things that worries him is the design for the National Museum.

The difficulty arose over the change in design from the French to the classic style, which was finally accomplished by the coöperation of the architects, Hornblower & Marshall, with Burnham and McKim; but the quadrilateral correspondence among the Washington architects and the superintendent, Bernard R. Green, and Burnham in Chicago and McKim in New York and elsewhere did not conduce to good temper.

A week later Mead wrote:

> My dear Burnham: McKim is getting along very well, but we do not intend to let him come back to the office for real work until he has had a proper vacation. He expects to come back next week for a day or two, and about the first of October

will go off somewhere for some shooting. He has always longed for some prairie-chicken shooting, and thinks you may know where it could be had to advantage. If you could put him in the way of it you would be doing him a lasting benefit. As he explained to me, he should want to find some man who could provide the dogs. Dr. Hitchcock, who is not only his physician, but his lifelong friend, and who has had a hard summer's work at Narragansett Pier, would go off with him for a rest, and it would be an ideal combination. McKim thinks you have had experience in this line and can suggest something which would be agreeable.

I have written McKim that you were off in San Francisco, but that you would return so as to be in New York the 28th to see your daughter off.[1] He will, likely, be here at that time, but if he should not I shall be and hope you will give us a call.

On October 7 a party consisting of John Cowles, McKim and Dr. Hitchcock, Fred Coleman and Burnham arrived at the little town of Cable in Wisconsin, where they were met by George Buchanan and his dogs. Early next morning the party embarked on four wagons for Crescent Camp, arriving about dark and after dinner going to bed in the open air. The record of the trip is found in two letters written by Burnham to Charles Moore:

October 17, 1905

Your favor of the 6th came during my absence in the woods. McKim turned toward me in his recent nervous trouble and we have been off together, taking Dr. Hitchcock, McKim's friend and physician. Our whole party, including servants, being nine men, has been in the woods about fifty miles from

[1] Miss Margaret Burnham sailed for Europe September 28, whither her brother Hubert had preceded her on July 15, to enter the École des Beaux Arts. Daniel H. Burnham, Jr., had just entered Harvard. After seeing Margaret off, Mr. and Mrs. Burnham went to South Yarmouth, Massachusetts, to visit Mr. and Mrs. Albert Wells at their summer home.

IN THE WOODS

Dr. Hitchcock, Burnham, and McKim in wagon; McKim refreshing himself

Ashland, Wisconsin, for ten days. I came in this morning. McKim will arrive Thursday morning. He will probably stay with me two or three days before going East. He is in very much better shape since he came out. We have slept in an open tent with a log fire at the end, having for beds the boughs of the balsam trees covered with mattresses. We have breathed the northern, frosty night air of October with very great benefit to ourselves.

October 23, 1905

McKim has been with me about three weeks, leaving my house last Saturday night. We have not gone deeply into topics interesting to us both, because he was not in a state of health to follow them, but we have had the happiest time of our lives, at any rate of mine, and I hope also of his, and he has gone home much refreshed. He is not strong and it will take many months of good sleeping and freedom from care to bring him around to his normal state. I am expecting to see something of him later. He is not in good enough form to take up your matter at the present time.[1] It will have to be deferred.

On October 18 Burnham attended the installation of President James at the University of Illinois, on which occasion he received the degree of Doctor of Laws. The next day he returned to find that McKim and Dr. Hitchcock had come out of the woods and were ready for three days of golf.

From the train McKim wrote:

DEAR DAN: When I think back over the past two weeks and all that you have done to set me on my feet I find it as hard to

[1] A plan for the improvement of Detroit, Michigan. In 1911 the matter was again taken up with Mr. Burnham, who wrote: "I am charmed with your letter in regard to the Island in the River. The place will surely speak to us. We will dream and the vision will be the thing that should be done. Before going there with others I would like to spend a day on the spot with you alone. If you do want me, I am more than ready." Mr. Burnham made one visit in connection with the Detroit plan. After his death the work was taken up by Edward H. Bennett. At the time Mr. Moore was chairman of the Detroit City Plan and Improvement Commission.

put down what I feel of eternal obligation to you as to speak it in words.

What gives me most happiness is the reflection that fifteen years of coöperation in the several campaigns in which we have both been so deeply interested and always united has made you feel that my existence is still of some consequence to you.

How proud I am of this last evidence of your confidence and affection I cannot tell you. I can only assure you of my appreciation and reciprocation to the full length of my mortal tether. It is hard to use my head, and you will have to read between the lines. There will be much to tell our friends in the East of the princely hospitality you extended to us. We talk of it constantly — to the smallest details.

Camp Burnham on the lake was indeed a rounded experience. I shall probably never see it again, but I hope that Camp Burnham in Evanston may take up its headquarters at 9 E. 35th St. early and often henceforth. I have an empty house and can offer you and yours little beside a first class grand piano and four Keiths, unless it be a "wee bit o porridge."

With warm remembrances to your sister and regrets to have missed Mrs. Burnham,

Yours faithfully

CHARLES F. MCKIM

Christmas was spent at home; in the morning exercises with Carver, followed by a session with the dentist. Mrs. Burnham was ill all day, but appeared at dinner, with the Fullers, Mrs. Townsend, the Sidney Burnets, and the Woodyatts. Dr. Fuller brought his lantern and Burnham showed pictures of the Manila, Baguio, and San Francisco plans. The year closed with a conference with Paul Morton on the New York Equitable Life building plans.

Meantime, McKim's illness was progressing in spite of his own hopefulness, as appears from this letter:

Pallachucolo Gun Club, Garnett, S.C.
December 17, 1905

My dear Daniel: While I have telegraphed and written you one or two apologies for letters since we parted, I feel conscience-stricken to think that your letter of November 15th, enclosing the photographs, has never been adequately answered. You will have to ascribe it to the continuance of the old conditions now happily disappearing, so that I am able to take up my correspondence this week for the first time. Our friend Hitchcock, who still sticks to the illusion that he can cure me of my infirmities, has come down to Garnett with that object chiefly in view.

Incidentally he is destroying too many of our quail and I not enough, but after a week made up of three half-days and three whole days in the saddle, I feel sufficiently encouraged to hope that in one of those remaining I shall "wipe his eye" and learn to sleep without medicine.

I have gained steadily and enjoyed a great deal, but nothing as much as the perusal of your letter on the subject of our friend Cowles. Both Hitchcock and I have shouted over it as a master effort. That alone would make up for the fifty miles of corduroy road.

By the way, at your suggestion, I sent this mighty Nimrod one dozen bottles of fine old whiskey to the address printed on the card which he gave me, but have not yet heard from him. May the consignment inspire him with still broader views as to his paradise of gain in Northern Wisconsin. Barring him out of the experience, we constantly look back to it as a rare pleasure in every way, thanks to you. For me it turned the corner, and the doctor, who was out of order, came here much better for it.

Though your mantle (sent by Fred) can never descend to my shoulders in any proper sense, its amplitude reflects the extent of your hospitality and makes my golf cape "a wee bit-of-porridge." After another week here we expect to return in time for Christmas, and I depend on you to pass your next visit in New York under my roof.

Dr. Hitchcock sends his best regards.

I telegraphed you this morning with regard to the Central Pavilion of the Museum, to determine that problem with Green according to your best judgment.

With many messages to your family and best wishes for the New Year,

Yours faithfully

C. F. McKim

The next time I will try to write in my own hand. I have been dictating all the morning and my head is tired.

END OF VOLUME I

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